













# **The Indian Buddhist Iconography**



# **INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCHES**

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## **THE INDIAN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY**

Based on the Sadhanamala and other Connate  
Tantric Texts of Rituals.

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## PREFACE

This volume represents part of the work done by me as a Government Research Scholar in Iconography for four years from 1920 to 1924. It is an attempt to write a comprehensive work on the Buddhist Iconography of India, and is mainly based on a Sanskrit text prepared from seven recensions of the *Sādhanaṃālā* *alias* *Sādhanasamuccaya* in the libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nepal, and Cambridge University. This text so collated I hope to publish as soon as the opportunity presents itself. The text has been illustrated by pictures representing images in several museums in India and elsewhere and in the collections of numerous Nepalese monasteries. Where images could not be obtained or photographing was impossible or unsatisfactory the text has been illustrated with the help of drawings prepared by Nepalese Citrakāras of Buddhist origin from the ancient albums of their forefathers. Where no drawing could be obtained only the original text has been quoted with a translation.

The publication of this work necessitated, on my part, a prolonged visit to Nepal whither my father, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstrī, was proceeding on an invitation from His Highness the Mahārājā of Nepal. It also necessitated a visit to the museums of Calcutta, Dacca, Patna, Sarnath, Lucknow, Mathura, and Ajmere, to the Cave-temples at Ellora and Ajanta, to the excavations at Nalanda, and to Vikrampur, the seat of Bengal Buddhism.

In several ways I have been very fortunate in carrying out my researches. First, I have had the proud privilege of working under Professor A. Foucher, the accredited authority on Indian Buddhist images, during the period he was in charge of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum. Secondly, through the kindness of the Mahārājā of Nepal I was able to secure a number of MSS. from the Durbar Library for collation and study. Thirdly, through the kindness of Mr. P. J. Hartog, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University, I secured the loan of one of the three Cambridge MSS. of the *Sādhanaṃālā* which I had absolutely no chance of getting otherwise. Fourthly during the first two years the most valuable library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was thrown open for my use. Fifthly, the Dacca University gave me all facilities whenever applied for. Sixthly, the Government granted

me, as a special favour, the Research Scholarship for a fourth year, a privilege not ordinarily granted under the rules.

Professor Foucher impressed upon me the fact that of the Buddhist Iconography, the most important and illuminating theme was its Indian section ; and that this was the fountain-head from which Tibet, China, and other countries drew their inspiration, which each amplified according to its own genius. The root of Buddhist Iconography is Indian, and Professor Foucher asked me to concentrate my attention on Indian images only. This advice has been of very great value to me ; it has enabled me to grasp some of the principles on which the whole fabric of Buddhist Iconography and methods of worship in later Buddhism is based. This Buddhist Iconography, for instance, is not idolatry ; the images do not represent objects of worship but represent the highest Buddhist ideal of Śūnya or Void, commingled with Vijñāna and Mahāsukha.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to His Highness Sir Chandra Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana, Mahārājā of Nepal, for rendering me ungrudging help in all difficulties in a foreign land and for placing at my disposal the services of a Guhāju and a Citrakāra, during our stay in Nepal.

I am deeply grateful to Mr. W. W. Hornell, M.A., C.I.E., M.L.C., until recently Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, for granting me the Research Scholarship I have been enjoying for four years ; and I am especially indebted to Mr. W. B. Finnigan, Personal Assistant to the Director of Public Instruction, for the interest he has taken in my affairs and for his sustaining encouragement. Without his kind help the work of printing would have been stopped long ago.

I have also to record my heartfelt thanks to Mr. P. J. Hartog, C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, for kindly procuring for collation one of the three Cambridge MSS. of the *Sūdhanamālā*, and for his unceasing efforts to obtain for me *Rotograph* copies of the two other MSS in palm-leaf. My thanks are also due to Prof. G. H. Langley, M.A., I.E.S., Dr. S. W. Kemp, D. Sc., and Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A. for taking a keen interest in my work and for their sound advice.

In compiling the present work I have to acknowledge help from several other sources : I am indebted to Rai Bahadur P. N. Mookerjee, I.S.O., Principal N. N. Ray, M.A., Prof. M. G. Bhattacharyya, M.A., and Mr. B. B. Mitra, M.A. for revising portions of the manuscript and helping me in correcting the proofs ; to my friend Mr. N. K. Bhattacharya, M.A., Curator, Dacca Museum, for many acts of kindness and valuable suggestions ; and to Messrs. S. C. Mondol and A. B. Maitra for preparing a number of negatives for my use.

Lastly, it is not merely as a filial duty that I acknowledge the debt I owe to my father Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstri, M.A., C.I.E. for whose sustaining help in all matters of difficulty, domestic, educational and financial, I shall ever remain grateful, and to whom this book is dedicated as a mark of profound devotion and respect.

For various reasons this book had to be hurried through the press. I am aware that, in consequence, it is not free from errors. I much regret these and hope that the book may be so fortunate as to pass through the press again, since this will give me an opportunity of removing them.

BARODA,

29th January, 1924.

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA





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- P. 1, l. 7 from bottom ; *for* respectfully *read* respectfully  
P. 2, ll. 28 and 31 ; *for* Bodhyagrī *read* Bodhyangī  
P. 3, footnote † ; *for* manuscripts *read* manuscript  
P. 4, ll. 18 and 20 ; *for* Vairocaṇa *read* Vairocana  
P. 7, l. 25 ; *delete* while  
P. 7, l. 26 ; *for* Abhaya *read* Varada  
P. 8, ll. 11-12 ; *for* and the like *read* and others  
P. 9, l. 2 ; *for* its *read* his  
P. 13, footnote \* ; *for* Pantheon *read* Buddhism  
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P. 37, l. 14 ; *for* °dhārāvyavahāra° *read* °dhārāvyavahāra°  
P. 54, l. 9 from bottom ; *for* disguishes *read* distinguishes  
P. 91, l. 23 : *for* this *read* his  
P. 114, l. 8 ; *for* right *read* left  
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P. 153, footnote \* ; *for* Suprā *read* supra  
P. 157, l. 7 from bottom ; *for* XI,II,c *read* XI,II,c  
Plate XIII, c ; *for* Vajrārāga *read* Vajrarāga  
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## TRANSLITERATION

So many systems of transliteration are in existence that it is almost impossible to say which one is the standard. In the present work I have generally followed Professor Foucher, and the following examples of transcription in Roman are noteworthy in it :—

च	<i>represented as</i>	.. C
छ	..	.. CHH
क्व	..	.. CCH
ष	..	.. Š
श	..	.. Š or Ś

## INTRODUCTION.

### § 1. *A Brief Historical Survey of Buddhism.*

Buddha was born during a period of intellectual ferment. The bold speculations of the old seers in the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads* were confined within the circle of the Brahmanical society. But soon after these speculations were ventilated, there appeared to have grown a large and extensive *Āryāvarta* which geographically included nearly the whole of Northern India, and no more comprised exclusively of the Brahmins and their followers, but included within its fold, some of the nomadic tribes just settling down to an ordered and civilized state of existence.

These tribes were, as they called themselves, the *Kṣattriyas*. They were fond of war, and after reducing the original inhabitants into the condition of the serfs, they remained there in right royal style, living in splendid cities and indulging in all sorts of moral, intellectual and artistic pursuits. Their number was very large towards the East and North-East of the old Aryan land, and the *Sākya*s, *Vṛjji*s, *Videha*s and *Malla*s, all belonged to this sort of unincorporated *Kṣattriyas*. The *Kuru*s, the *Pāṇcāla*s, the *Saurāṣṭra*s and the *Ikṣvāku*s were more or less influenced by the culture of the Brahmins. As a result of the great upheaval in the domain of intellect and temperament mentioned above, some of the choicest spirits sprung from among the *Kṣattriyas*—men who profoundly influenced the subsequent Indian thought. Seven names stand forth as the most prominent in the matter of philosophy and religion. These are—Buddha, Mahāvīra, Gosālā Maṅkhālīputtra, Sañjaya Bellatṭhiputtra, Kakuda Kātyāyana, Pūrṇa Kāśyapa and Ajitakeśa-kambala. We are, of course, here concerned only with Buddha, and the system of philosophy of which he is the founder.

The ethical system of Buddha was based mainly on the *Śāṅkhya*, but profoundly modified by his own speculations. The boldness of the speculation, the grandeur of the moral idea set forth, and the strictness of discipline gave his system an attractive and engaging character. People of all shades of thought came to him and he incorporated them within his own fold and kept them in harmony as long as he lived.

But with the death of Buddha things changed and dissensions crept in, and though the Elders for a time succeeded in checking all schismatic efforts of the Youngers, it was at Vaiśālī that they parted company, never to be



united again, on points which to the modern historian appear exceedingly minor and trifling. The Youngers, however, thought, as we learn it from the *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, that the difference was fundamental and far-reaching.

Thus the whole camp was divided into two parties. Those who stuck to Ethics and moral discipline were called the Therāvādins, and those who trifled with Ethics and discipline but stuck to metaphysical and altruistic doctrines were called the Mahāsāṅghikas. One point of difference is very marked,--the Youngers were all Lokottaravādins and believed in the superhuman character of Buddha. But schisms bring forth further schisms, and in the course of a century, the two parties split up into eighteen principal sects, beside a number of minor ones.

One of the Therāvādin sects, the Vibhajjavādin or the Analytical sect was favoured by Aśoka, and rose to prominence. They sent missionaries to all parts of India and outside and succeeded in converting a multitude of people. But with the dismemberment of the Maurya Empire, the Buddhists fell on evil days. The relentless persecution of three successive Brahmin dynasties proved too much for the new faith. Young and vigorous, bold and speculative as the Mahāsāṅghikas were, they sought new fields for their activities beyond the dwindling empire of the Brahmins. They were most active amongst the new settlers in India, the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Pahlavas and the Kuṣāṇas. The Vibhajjavādins, losing their prestige under the persecuting zeal of Puṣyamitra and his successors, seem to have fled to South and made at last Ceylon their home, where their doctrines can even now be studied in all their pristine purity.

The Mahāsāṅghikas made a headway at the time of Kaṇiṣka. In the Council held in his time, the Therāvādins were very feebly represented and the Vibhajjavādins were not existent. The Mahāsāṅghikas made a commentary on the sayings of Buddha called "Bibhāṣā." The whole literature is now lost in the original but fragments exist in Chinese translations. At the Council of Kaṇiṣka there was a small but pushing sect called the Mahāyāna, but at that Assembly they did not count. But two generations later they made a great headway under Nāgārjuna and his powerful disciple, Āryadeva. Both of them were absolute Śūnyavādins. Buddha himself did not go beyond Arhatship. He held out to his followers as a reward for their discipline Arhatship, or an escape from the miseries of birth, old age and death in other words, from the evils of transmigration. All speculations beyond Arhatship Buddha discouraged as of no use. But bolder spirits after him could not resist the temptation of speculating, and their speculations ended in the time of Nāgārjuna in Śūnyavāda. But in a very short time the Śūnyavāda lost its

the hancuerings of the Mahāyānists and so Maitreya-nātha, one or two generations after Nāgārjuna, added *Vijñāna* to it, and founded what developed later on as the Yogācāra System.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* which Nāgārjuna is said to have rescued from the nether regions became the standard work of the Śūnyavādins, and the same work as modified by the ideas of Maitreya-nātha became the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. This again, became the standard work of the Vijñānavādins. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is divided into thirty-two chapters, while the *Pañcaviṃśati-Sāhasrikā* is divided into eight only, following the chapters of Maitreya-nātha's work.

The controversy between the Śūnyavādins and the Vijñānavādins raged for several centuries and many ranged themselves on both sides. But in the 8th. century people were not satisfied with Vijñānavāda. They imported into it another element called the Mahāsukhavāda, so that after ordinary Nirvāṇa there were three elements, namely, Śūnya, Vijñāna and Mahāsukha. It is from Mahāsukha that Vajrayāna originated, and Vajrayāna is the system rich in iconographical ideas.

To understand the rise of Vajrayāna we shall have to go back to the teachings of Buddha. He had two Yānas, the Śrāvakayāna and the Pratyekayāna. The Śrāvakas were to hear from a Buddha, but they had to wait till the advent of another Buddha, for their emanicipation. In the meanwhile the Śrāvakas could teach, but they could neither attain, nor help others in attaining Nirvāṇa. The Pratyekas were eminent men ; they could attain Nirvāṇa by their own efforts without the help of a Buddha ; but they could not impart Nirvāṇa to others.

Buddhism continued in this state till the rise of the Mahāyāna whose proper name is Bodhisattvayāna. The Mahāyānist contemptuously called the previous Yānas as Hīnayānas. They held that they could by their own exertion reach Nirvāṇa and even Buddhahood, and help others in attaining both. The distinction between the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna is graphically described in the first book of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* attributed to Asaṅga.

Thus there were three Yānas in Buddhism about the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries A.D. But there were four Schools of Philosophy, Sarvāstivāda ( Sautrāntika), Vāhyārthabhaṅga ( Baibhāṣika), Vijñānavāda ( Yogācāra) and Śūnyavāda (Mādhyamaka). How these four systems were distributed amongst the three Yānas is one of the vital questions of Buddhism. But no light has been thrown on it as yet by the extant European or modern Indian literature on Buddhism. Happy, the discovery of an ancient manuscript entitled,

*Tattvaratnāvalī*, by Advayavajra has dispelled the darkness. Advayavajra was a Bengali and he flourished in the 12th century. He was a Bengali because he commented upon the Bengali *Dohakoṣa* by Sarahavajra, who flourished in the 11th century. He says :—"There are three Yānas, Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekayāna and Mahāyāna. There are four theories, Baibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra and Mādhyamaka. Śrāvakayāna and Pratyekayāna are explained by the theory of the Baibhāṣikas. Mahāyāna is of two kinds, Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya. Pāramitās are explained by the theories either of Sautrāntika, Yogācāra or Mādhyamaka ; Mantranaya is explained by the theories of Yogācāra and Mādhyamaka only." \*

So Mantranaya commences with the most abstruse theories of Sūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda. Advayavajra postpones the explanation of Mantranaya in one place, and says,—“Mantranaya is very abstruse. It concerns with men who seek emancipation by deep and solemn methods. It is also very extensive owing to the understanding of such theories as the four symbolic representations. Therefore, we are not fit to explain it”.† He cites for his authority—"Mantrasāstra transcends all other Śāstras, because, though all Śāstras have the same common object, there is no fear of ignorance here. The means are many, and they are not difficult of attainment, but it can be attained only by men whose senses are sharpened to the highest degree. On this point we have written a work, *Sekanirṇaya*.”‡

The *Sekanirṇaya* is a short work in the same bundle of manuscripts by the same author. It accepts the Mahāsukha theory and dilates upon the various stages of the development of Mahāsukha, which, according to the author, is not possible to attain without the Śakti, the embodiment of Karuṇā.

\* "Tatra triṇi Yānāni, Śrāvakayānam, Pratyekayānam, Mahāyānam ceti. Sthitayaḥ catasrah, Vaibhāṣika-Sautrāntika-Yogācāra-Mādhyamakabhedena. Tatra Vaibhāṣikasthityā Śrāvakayānam Pratyekayānaṁ vyākhyāyate. Mahāyānaṁ dvividham Pāramitānayo Mantranayaśceti. Tatra Pāramitānayaḥ Sautrāntika-Yogācāra-Mādhyamakasthityā vyākhyāyate. Mantranayastu Yogācāra-Mādhyamakasthityā vyākhyāyate."

*Tattvaratnāvalī* in Advayavajrasaṅgraha, Fol. 9.

† "Mantranayastu āsmadvidhairihātigambhīratvāt, gambhīranayādhimuktika-puruṣaviśayatvācca caturmudrādi-sādhana-prakāśanavistarattvācca na vyākriyate."

*Ibid*, Fol. 14.

‡ Ekārthatve'pyasammohāt vahūpāyādaduṣkarāt |  
Tikṣṇendriyādhikārācca Mantrasāstram viśisyate ||  
Kṛtāścaibhiratra *Sekanirṇayo* nāma gr̥n̥thah."

*Tattvaratnāvalī Ibid*, Fol. 14.

In another of his short works entitled, *Mahāsukhaprakāśa*, he says—‘from the right perception of *Śūnyatā* comes “*Bīja*.” From “*Bīja*” is developed the conception of an icon and from that conception comes the external representation of the icon ; \* so the entire iconography of the Buddhists proceeds from a correct understanding of the doctrine of *Śūnyatā*. The *yab-yum* conceptions were an outcome of the dual conceptions of *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā*, both of which were conceived and represented, but which ultimately proved to be one and the same.

\* “ *Śūnyatābodhito bījaṃ bījāt vimbaṃ prajāyato ।  
Vimbe ca nyāsaviryāsa tasmāt sarvaṃ pratīyajaṃ ॥*  
*Mahāsukhaprakāśa* in *Ibid*, Fol. 32.

## § II. *Evolution of the Doctrines.*

The pivot of distinction between the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna lies in the question of Nirvāṇa or the final goal of a Buddhist, though the actual split between the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Sthaviras was originally due to difference on ten minor points of discipline.\* The Hīnayānist, whether a Śrāvaka or a Pratyekabuddha, is mean, selfish and always strives towards his own Nirvāṇa or emancipation, ignoring altogether all other beings of the world. The Mahāyānist, on the other hand, takes just the opposite view, makes Compassion (Karuṇā) his motto, and sets himself to work vigorously for the uplift of mankind, nay, all sentient beings from man to the smallest insect. In fact, he seems to be more solicitous about the emancipation of the latter than of his own self.

Both the Hīnayānist and the Mahāyānist agree in saying that Buddha as a Bodhisattva remained in the Tuṣita Heaven prior to his descent to this earth. They agree in holding that Buddha as Śākyasiṃha was born in the womb of Māyā, the queen of Śuddhodana the king of Kapilavāstu, and Māyā in her dreams saw a white elephant entering into her womb. They also agree that his birth took place at the Lumbini garden, that he obtained his Enlightenment under the Bo-tree at Bodh-Gaya, preached his First Sermon at Sarnath and entered into Nirvāṇa at Kuśinagara.

But they differ on the question of the divinity of Buddha. The Hīnayānist regards him as the Progenitor of the Law, and calls him a super-man, but nothing but a man with extraordinary intellect. But the Mahāyānist, on the other hand, looks upon him as a divinity.† and as such, an eternal being coming to earth only for the salvation or deliverance of the beings tortured by Mārā, the Evil One. The Hīnayānist believes in the Buddhist Triad and reveres and worships it in the order of Buddha, Dharma and

\* II. Sāstri : *Bauddhadharma* No. 14.—“Tāñhārā sakalei Daśavastur viruddhe mat dīlen, kramei se mat pracār haila ; yāñhārā se mat grahan karilen tāñhāder nām haila Sthaviravādi, yāñhārā grahan karilen nā tāñhāder nām haila Mahāsāṅghik.” (in *Bengali*.)

† Compare *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Vol. I, p. 2.—“Ārya-Mahāsāṅghikānām pāṭhena Vinayapitakasya Mahāvastuye ādi.” Kern has taken the Lokottaravādins as a sect of the Mahāsāṅghikas. But the fact seems to be that the Lokottaravādins are the same as the Mahāsāṅghikas, who attempted for the first time to establish the divinity or the eternity of Buddha. The Mahāsāṅghikas subsequently turned out to be the Mahāyānists. *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 3 *et seq.*

Saṅgha, that is the Promulgator of the Law first, the Law second and the recipients of the Law last. Every new recruit to the faith had to recite the Trīṣaṛaṇa in the above order. But the Mahāyānist changes the order into Dharma, Buddha and Saṅgha, attributing the first and highest place to the Law, and the next higher place to the Promulgator of the Law. According to a Mahāyānist, Dharma or Prajñā is eternal and the highest object in Buddhism; Buddha is only the Upāya or the means of obtaining that knowledge, which is diffused into the masses through him. This idea bears a close resemblance to the Hindu conception of the Mantras,\* which are supposed to be eternal and of which only a glimpse was obtained by the Vedic Ṛṣis. It took a considerable time, though we cannot definitely say how much, for the idea of Prajñā and Upāya to evolve from Buddha and Dharma. As a consequence the Saṅgha was also changed to a more dignified designation of 'Bodhisattva' † which meant in earlier times all members of the Holy Order, and later on, only the higher members‡, as is current even in now Nepal.

In the matter of Nirvāṇa, Mahāyāna has an entirely different development. The Hinayānist will be satisfied if he is emancipated from the bond of worldly sufferings, from the evil of birth and rebirth. He does not look beyond his own salvation. But the Bodhisattva, on the other hand, being anxious to do good to the world, acquires a certain state of mind known as 'Bodhicitta' (Bodhi Mind), which makes him advance higher and higher. Simultaneously with his advancement he acquires merit and commences his march towards the Akaṣṭha Heaven§, where Amitābha Buddha of Boundless Light resides. The Universe according to the Buddhists consists of twenty-six Lokas or Heavens divided into three broad divisions. (1) Kāma

\* See Peterson's *Handbook to the Study of the R̥g-Veda*, Part I. pp. 31-21 and *Jaiminīya Nyāya Mālā-Vistara*, I, 2, 27-32.

† The compound word "Bodhisattva" may be expounded as *Bodhai yatante ye sattvāḥ* i.e. "Those who strive for the attainment of Bodhi." In primitive Buddhism, according to the Mahāyānists, therefore, all members were Bodhisattvas. See also Sujuki: *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 290 et seq.

‡ As in Beal: Si-yu-ki. Cf. Āryadeva Bodhisattva, i, 189; Aśvaghōṣa Bodhisattva, ii 75, 100, etc. In Nepal now all Vajrācāryyas are called Bodhisattvas.

§ There is another intellectual movement by which the Bodhisattvas cross the ten Bhūmis, first enumerated and described in *Mahāvastu Avadāna* p. 78 et seq. The word "Viṣarta" has been taken by Senart to mean "returning back from a higher Bhūmi to a lower." But this word in Mahāvastu always refers to a forward movement.

(2) Rūpa and (3) Arūpa.\* When the Bodhisattva remains in the Kāma Lokas he will be subject to sensuous desires ; in the second group of Heavens he will be above these desires but will nevertheless retain his form,—and in the third the form of the Bodhisattva will be lost. The Rūpa Heavens again are divided into four broad divisions ; † in the first of these, the Bodhisattva is not subjected to sensuous desires ; in the second, he gains absolute purity, in the third, he is freed from the cycles of rebirth ; and in the fourth, he reaches the Akaniṣṭha Heaven or Sukhāvātī and becomes a Buddha.

The Arūpa Heavens are four‡ in number and in these the form of the Bodhisattva is lost ; in the first of these, the Bodhisattva is able to conceive the idea of anā to merge himself in Infinite Space ; in the second, he attains Infinite Intelligence ; in the third, he conceives the idea of absolute Non-entity ; and in the fourth, he abides neither in consciousness nor unconsciousness. This is the highest state,—this is Nirvāṇa.§

But here arose a most baffling controversy. On the question whether Nirvāṇa meant absolute Void ( Śūnya) or a conscious state (Vijñāna)—the Mahāyānistis ranged themselves in two divisions. The Yogācāra School could not persuade itself to believe that sentient beings after ages of striving should only end in Void. The followers of this School were known as the Vijñānavādins of whom Maitreya-nātha in the chief, who held that even in Śūnya, the Vijñāna or consciousness remained. The Mādhyamikas were more radical. They held that Śūnya meant a transcendental state (not annihilation), about which neither existence, nor non-existence, nor a combination of the two, nor a negation of the two, can be predicated. ||

\* Max Muller : *Dharmasaṃgraha*, p. 31. The three equivalents in Sanskrit are *Kāmāvacara*, *Rūpāvacara*, and *Arūpāvacara*.

† Morier Williams : *Buddhism* p. 211 *et. seq.* The Rūpāvacara heavens are either eighteen or twenty-two: See also *Dharmasaṃgraha*, p. 31.

‡ The four Arūpa heavens are—Ākāśānantyāyatana, Vijñānānantyāyatana, akīñcānyānantyāyatana, Naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatana.

§ Compare Aśvaghoṣa's conception of Nirvāṇa in *Saundarananda*.

“ Dīpo yāthā nirvṛtimabhyupeto naivāvanim gacchati nāntarīkṣam ।  
Dīpaṃ na kāñcit vidiṣam na kāñcit snehaksayāt kevalameti śāntim ॥  
Evaṃ kṛtī nirvṛtimabhyupeto naivāvanim gacchati nāntarīkṣam ।  
Dīpaṃ na kāñcit vidiṣam na kāñcit kleśaksayāt kevalameti śāntim ” ॥

|| Sujuki is of opinion that the word, ' Śūnya' is used because the language does not furnish a more expressive word. Cf. —the statement in *Mādhavācāryya's Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*—“ asti-nāsti-tadubhayā-nubhaya-catuṣkoṭiviniṣmuktaṃ śūnyarūpaṃ.” pp. 23-24. Compare also *Advayaonjrasaṃgraha*, Fol. 13.—

“ Na san nāsan na sadasan na cāpyanubhayātmyakam ।  
Catuṣkoṭiviniṣmuktaṃ tattvam Mādhyamikā viduḥ ” ॥

These are in short, the main ideas underlying the divisions of the **Mahāyāna** doctrine which is always very abstruse. But Buddhism, we should not forget, was a mass-religion and the mass is not expected to be so intelligent as to grasp the real philosophical significance of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* or of *Nirvāṇa*. The priests found a great deal of difficulty in making the mass understand the meaning of *Nirvāṇa*, to the attainment of which every *Bodhisattva* strives. They invented a word for *Śūnya*; it was *Nirātmā*, that is, something in which the soul is lost. The *Bodhicitta* merges in *Nirātmā* and there remains in eternal bliss and happiness (*Mahāsukhavāda*). The word, '*Nirātmā*,' it may be noted, is in the feminine; the *Nirātmā* is therefore a *Devī*, in whose embrace the *Bodhicitta* remains.\* The masses well understood the significance of *Nirātmā*, and this feminine aspect—an outcome of *Mahāsukhavāda*—in the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*, gave rise to what is known as *Vajrayāna*.

The word '*Vajrayāna*' means the vehicle of obtaining *Nirvāṇa* through the medium of *Vajra*, which is another name for *Śūnya*, so called because it is a thing which cannot be destroyed, cannot be cut, cannot be burnt.† The position of the priests, the Gurus and the *Vajracāryyas* in the *Vajrayāna* thus became very much magnified, because they invented other methods for the mass to attain an easy salvation. The mass could not master the sacred writings and could not even recite them. The *Dhāraṇīs*, which were mostly meaningless strings of words, were composed for them, and the recitation of these *Dhāraṇīs*‡ promised them great merit. These *Dhāraṇīs* were later on, shortened into equally unintelligible *Mantras* and *Vijāmantras*. Individual *Mantras* were assigned to individual deities, who were held to take their origin from the *Vijāmantras* or mystic syllables. How the deities originated from particular syllables is a matter for independent investigation. Those votaries who could not worship their gods in accordance with the prescribed procedure (*Sādhana*) were promised by the Gurus perfection.

\* H. Sāstri: *Buddhadharmā*. (No. 2.) "Nirvāṇa"—"Ei Śūnyake tāñhārā valilen 'Nirātmā.' Śudhu Nirātmā valiyā tṛpta hailen nā, valilen "Nirātmā-devī, arthāt Nirātmā śabdātī strīlīnga. Bodhisattva Nirātmādevīr kole jhāṇp diyā paḍilen." (in Bengali)

† Cf.—*Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, Fol. 16.—

"Uktañca Vajrasekhara—

Dṛgham saram asaṃkṛyaṃ acchedyābhedyalakṣaṇam ।

Adāhī 'avināśī ca Śūnyatā vajramucyate" ।

‡ The *Dhāraṇīs*, *Īṇḍayasūtras* and *Mantras* belong properly to the *Mantrayāna*, about which no details are forthcoming. According to H. Tsang the *Dhāraṇī*-or *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* belonging to *Mantrayāna* is as old as the time of the *Mahāsāṅghikas*. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, II, 165. See also Kern's remarks in *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 6.



only through the muttering of the Mantras\*. Thus the position of the Gurus became paramount and as they showed the easy way or the adamant path for Nirvāṇa, they were called the Vajrācāryyas.

It was an evil day for Mahayāna when Asaṅga in the sixth century went up to heaven and brought the Tantras down to earth and introduced the much expected aid of gods, the want of which was keenly felt,—into the religion of the Mahāyānists of his time ; they had already lost faith in their own exertions and required the help of the gods for their salvation, nay more, they even stooped so low as to crave for the ordinary worldly perfections (Siddhis) and were not satisfied if they could not secure them.

What the word "Tantra" really means is difficult to ascertain. Various scholars have explained the word in various ways. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śhāstri says,† "The word Tantra is very loosely used. Ordinary people understand by it any system other than the Vedas. But it really means the worship of Śakti or female energy. The female energy is worshipped in conjunction with male energy. The union of male and female energy is the essence of Tantra."

The mentality of the mass and the mentality of the Vajrācāryyas was in a such a state that it readily grasped and assimilated the doctrines of Tantra and developed a form of religion, which, according to Bendall,‡ was brought to "the level of very thinly veiled Kāmasāstra." Rājā Rājendralal, while commenting upon the *Guhyasamāja*,§ says, "but in working it out theories are indulged in and practices enjoined, which are at once the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could think of, and compared to which the worst specimens of Holiwell Street Literature of the last century would appear absolutely pure." Yet nevertheless, the feminine element in the doctrine attracted a large number of followers and made it extremely popular and the most exquisite art, which this school developed, made it doubly attractive.

Whatever might be the fault of the Vajrayānists it is to them we owe the legacy of a rich, varied and extensive Pantheon. The purely Tāntri-

\*Cf. the statement, "khede sati Mantram japet", very often repeated in the *Sādhana-mālā*.

† H. Śhāstri : *Introduction to Modern Buddhism*, p. 10.

‡ See C. Bendall's *Introduction to Sūtrāsamuccaya*, p. VI.

§ R. Mitra : *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, p. 261.

gods were invariably accompanied with their Śaktis, who were sometimes given a separate seat in sculptures, sometimes the same seat, sometimes a seat on the lap of the gods, and sometimes they were represented in the actual embrace of the gods. The sober form of Tantra generally adopted the first three courses. But the most thorough-going form worshipped the gods in the embrace, in union with their Śaktis, or as the Tibetans describe it---in *Yab-yum*.

### § III. Evidence of Art.

The Buddhist Universe is represented by a Stūpa and the Stūpas received worship from the Buddhists from the life-time of Buddha down to the present day (Plate II). Similar is the case with the Three Jewels, which came to be represented later, both in symbolic and in human form \* (Plate III). As Buddhism was originally a religion of tolerance it incorporated many of the Hindu deities in the first stage; when Buddha had attained Enlightenment and was about to retire from the world, Brahmā and Indra approached him suddenly and asked him to stay for a time to deliver the people of Magadha. Kuvera, the Hindu god of Wealth, who is usually represented with a bag of gems in the left hand was also incorporated; so was the case with Vasudhārā, who became in later times, the consort of Jambhala, the Buddhist god of Wealth. The railings of Bodhi Gaya, Sanchi, Bharaut and Amaravati dating from the 3rd. to the 1st. century B.C. show unmistakable signs of worshipping everything that Buddha made sacred by his magic touch. For instance, the Bodhi Tree (Plate IV,a), his turban (Plate IV,b), his footprints (Plate IV,c), the Wheel-of-the-law (Plate IV,d), and similar objects were revered by the later Buddhists in the absence of their Departed Master. The railings show further, bas-reliefs representing innumerable scenes from Buddha's life as recorded in the *Lalitā-Vistara* or the *Mahāvastu Avadāna* (e. g. Dream of Māyā, Plate I,c) as well as stories from the Jātakas. The Nāgas and the Yakṣas are also to be seen everywhere, but whether they received any worship, is difficult to say.

For several centuries after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha we never meet with any representation of the Great Master himself. Perhaps his personality was too great to admit of a representation, or Was it owing to the religious bias of the Indian Buddhists? Whatever might be the cause, it so happened that the Indians were not the first to carve out a statue of Lord Buddha, one of the greatest celebrities of India. In Mahāyāna we have seen,

\* From the materials now before us we may safely hold that the Nepalese Buddhists were the first to conceive the Holy Triad in human form, in which the Triad is worshipped there even in modern days. When represented in art, Dharma shows the Añjali against the breast in the first pair of hands and carries the rosary and the double lotus in the second. Buddha shows either the Samādhi or the Bhūmiṣparśana Mudrā; and Saṅgha, a male divinity, shows the Dharmacakra Mudrā in the first pair of hands and the rosary and the book in the second pair.

Buddha was assigned a subordinate position among the Three Jewels; time obliterated almost everything of his solemn personality, and the Graeco-Buddhists carved out his first statue in Gandhara.\* The intermixture of the Greek with the indigenous plastic art gave rise to what we now call the Graeco-Buddhist Art, popularly known as the Gandhara School of Sculpture. Buddha was the chief object of representation in this art; the events and stories from his life were represented; many of the Jātaka stories of his previous births were also represented. At Taxila, Peshwar, Sahri-Balhol and numerous other places in the North-West Frontier Province, heaps of stones have been unearthed bearing innumerable images of Buddha in different attitudes (Āsanas) and different gestures (Mudrās). Besides Buddhas images, we meet with the images of Jambhala, Maitreya, Hārīti, the Indian Madonna, and her consort, and other Bodhisattva images † in the Gandhara Art, besides numerous other things.

There is considerable disagreement among scholars as to the beginning of Gandhara Art. Prof. A. Foucher declares that the reign of Menander was perhaps most suited for such a school of art to begin. But the date he assigns to Menander is cir. B. C. 160.‡ There again, scholars are divided in their opinion. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar who has gone deep into the question, and has examined all the arguments in favour or against the date, has come to the conclusion that a date prior to 90 B. C. cannot be assigned to Menander. We take it, that the Gandhara Art began in the reign of Menander in 90 B.C. and that no image of Buddha was made before that time.

This art was carried over to Mathurā, where again the Gandhara Art coming in contact with the local art took a somewhat different development, which has been assigned the name of the Mathura School of Sculpture.§ This School also produced numerous Buddha and Bodhisattva images, the image of Kuvera,|| the scenes depicting the four principal and the four minor scenes of Buddha's life generally, including other scenes also. The Yakṣas and the

\* A. Foucher : *Beginnings of Buddhist Art and other essays*, p. 127.

† See V. A. Smith : *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, figs. 62, 63, Pl. XXVIII. fig. 64, 65, also Garuda and Nāga images, fig. 70; refer also to the image of Kuvera, No. 3912 of Indian Museum.

‡ Foucher : *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 127.

§ Cf. Vogel : *The Mathura School of Sculpture*,—" This explains the mixed character of the Mathura School in which we find on the one hand a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Barhut (Bharhut) and Sanchi and on the other hand the classical influence derived from Gandhara " A. S. I. Ann. Rep. 1906-7, p. 145.

|| *Ibid* p. 144 and V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, fig. 81.

Nāgas which are the common property of the Hindus and the Buddhists, are to be frequently met with in this art. The Mathura School is famous for its images of the Kuṣāṇa kings, and its flourishing period ranges from the first century A. D. to the early Gupta period,\* for we do not meet here with any of the later Buddhist gods, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Tārā and the like.

Next to Mathura we come to Sarnāth which covers a period from the time of Aśoka down to the reign of the Pālas.† It is here that we meet with the representations of the varied and extensive Pantheon of the Vajrayāna Buddhists. The images of Śaṅkṣarī Lokēśvara, Ucchuṣma Jambhala, Mañjuśrī, Tārā, Vasudhārā, Mārīcī, the five Dhyānī Buddhas, Vajrastva and many others, point to a higher and later form of Vajrayāna. Though the gods are here represented for the first time with their Śaktis, they do not, nevertheless, belong to the most attractive form in which they are required to be represented in Samputāyoga, or in union, or as the Tibetans call it, in *Yab-yum*.

Further downwards the monasteries of Odantapuri, Nalanda and Vikramaśīla must have developed the latest form of Vajrayāna before Buddhism was finally wiped out at the advent of the Muhammadan invader Bukhtiyar Khilji and his warlike cavalry, who targetted the shaven heads of the innocent Buddhist priests mistaking them for soldiers.‡ Nalanda is being excavated and a large number of images belonging to the higher form of Tantra have been unearthed. The Vikramaśīla monastery has not been identified yet; but if the Odantapuri site be also excavated, it will most assuredly, yield innumerable images of Vajrayāna gods.

The most flourishing period of the Bengal school of sculpture ranges from the tenth century or even earlier down to the settlement of the Muhammadans in Bengal. A large majority of the images that have up till now been discovered in Bengal belong to the Hindu form of religion, though Buddhist images are also to be extensively met with. The products of the Bengal school are undoubtedly the best specimens of Indian art, but unfortunately

\* *Mathura Museum Cat.*, pp. 27-28.

† Vincent Smith : *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 116.

‡ Elliott's *History of India*, p. 306. In *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, Minhaj-us-Siraj gives a graphic description of how Bakhtiyar conquered the peaceful Vihāra and massacred all the undefended inmates. He smelt of plunder and seems to have destroyed the Vikramaśīla Vihāra, Jagaddala Vihāra and probably the Nalanda Vihāra also, which is only eight miles or so away from Odantapuri (mod. Bihar on the Bukhtiyarpur Bihar Light Railway). This Vihāra contained perhaps the last remnants of the Mahāśāghikas.

the existence of this school has not even been acknowledged by scholars. Many of the specimens of the Bengal School are preserved in the three museums of Calcutta, Dacca and Rajshahi, but a large number of them are scattered about in Parganah Vikrampur, and the Districts of Dinajpur and Comilla.

The images of gods at Ajanta, Ellora, and South-India show signs of immature Tantra and may be assigned a time prior to the Bengal School, though the paintings of Ajanta and other sculptures have a long antiquity. Veteran scholars have asserted Java's indebtedness to Bengal in the matter of Art and religion, and it is quite probable that the art and the later Mahāyānism was carried over by the sea from Tāmralipti to Java by the Bengalees.

In the later phase of Vajrayāna, after its destruction in India, the priests of the celebrated monasteries took refuge in Nepal, and thus kept the torch of Buddhism still burning, in India. The art of Bengal was carried over there, but it soon degenerated at the hands of the native artists. We need not dwell here on the question as to how the priests fled to Nepal, and how they built innumerable monasteries there. Suffice it to say, that the followers of Vajrayāna, in order to make sure of their existence, converted a good many of the natives and carved out innumerable images of gods both in stone and in wood, so much so, that a student of Iconography is overwhelmed at their wealth and variety.

#### § IV. *The Pantheon.*

The Pantheon of the Northern Buddhists was not built in a day. This we have tried to show in the two previous sections from the point of view of Buddhist doctrine as well as from the point of view of extant images. Now we shall examine the evidence of the Mahāyāna literature in Sanskrit and the accounts of the Chinese Travellers, who were Buddhists and who have recorded their observations minutely in their works. From what follows, we come to the conclusion that all Sanskrit works mentioning the five Dhyāni Buddhas or Vajradhara or Vajrasattva or any of the later gods cannot belong to a period prior to the time of Indrabhūti (circa 700-750 A. D.)

There is no mention of the five Dhyāni Buddhas in the literature of the Mahāyāna Buddhists prior to the time of Indrabhūti. But it cannot be held that they were invented all at once. We meet with none of them in the works of Aśvaghōṣa (1st century A. D.), Nāgārjuna (2nd century A. D.) and Āryadeva\* (3rd century). We have evidence that during A. D. 148-170 A. D. the *Sukhāvatī-Vyūha* or the *Amitāyus Sūtra* was translated into Chinese. This Sūtra mentions for the first time the name of Amitābha, and his other name Amitāyus,† who resides in the Sukhāvatī or the Akaṣṭha heaven, where he remains in constant meditation and where he is believed to have brought forth the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara into existence.‡ The smaller recen-

\* It may here be mentioned that as the work *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* mentions the five Dhyāni Buddhas and other later Vajrayāna gods, the author of the work cannot be the same Āryadeva, the disciple of Nāgārjuna, who flourished in the third century A.D. He must be the later Āryadeva of the Tāntric age, not only because he mentions the later Vajrayāna gods, but also because his work breathes throughout the doctrines of Tantra. Furthermore, the Tangyur Catalogue attributes the same work, with a slightly different name, *Cittasodhanaparakaraṇa*, to him, which fact convincingly pushes him forward into the Tāntric age. It may be noted, however, that the name *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* has not been given in the Colophon of the work published in J. A. S. B. 1898 p. 117 ff, but it was given on the authority of C. Bendall. The real name of the work is *Cittasodhanaparakaraṇa* as given in the *Tangyur Catalogue*.

Nāgārjuna's *Dharmasaṃgraha* likewise mentions the five Dhyāni Buddhas. Either this Nāgārjuna is the later Siddhacryya, Nāgārjuna, or the passage mentioning the Dhyāni Buddhas is an interpolation. We are more inclined to accept the latter theory, as the manuscript of *Dharmasaṃgraha* we have been able to find out in Nepal and of which we possess a copy—omits the passage altogether.

† *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, pp. 1, 28, 32.

‡ There is however a faint reference to Avalokiteśvara in the word, 'Avalokita' in *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Vol. II. p. 294.

sion of this *Amitāyus Sūtra*, which was also translated into Chinese between A.D. 384-417, mentions two more names, of Akṣobhya as a Tathāgata and Mañjuśrī as a Bodhisattva. It may be noted, however, that Fa-Hien (394-414 A.D.) mentions the names of Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya; Hiuen Tshang (A.D. 629-645) the names of Avalokiteśvara, Hārīti, Kṣitigarbha, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, Padmapāṇi, Vaiśravaṇa, Śākya-Buddha, Śākya Bodhisattva and Yama. Besides these, the latter refers to *Vidyādharaṭṭaka* and *Vajrapāṇidhārāṇi* belonging to Mantrayāna. There is evidence also in his work that many of the saints were deified as Bodhisattvas, such as, Aśva ghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Sumedhas, and others. He refers to many of the previous Buddhas also. I-Tsing, another devout Buddhist traveller, (A.D. 671-695), came all the way from China to India during the last quarter of the seventh century. He mentions the names of Avalokiteśvara, Amitāyus or Amitābha, Hārīti, the Caturmahārājikas, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Yama besides several Hindu gods.

Let us next examine the works of Śāntideva of the Nalanda monastery, who has been assigned to the middle of the seventh century by Cecil Bendall. This date seems rather doubtful in view of the fact that I-Tsing does not mention him in his work. In any case, we cannot assign to him a date later than A.D. 800, as his book, *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, was translated into Tibetan in the reign of the celebrated Tibetan king, Khri-lde-sron-btsan, who reigned between A. D. 816 and 838.\* In this work we meet with the names of Akṣobhya as a Tathāgata, Amitābha as a Tathāgata, Gaganagaṇja as a Bodhisattva, and Simhavikrīḍita as a Tathāgata. That in his time Tantra had just begun to wield its influence is evident from a fairly large number of references to Tāntric works. It gives the Dhāraṇīs for Cundā, Trisamayārāja and Mārīci. The name of the book, *Śrīmālā-Simhanāda*, clearly speaks of Simhanāda, one of the numerous names of Avalokiteśvara. In his *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Śāntideva speaks of Mañjughoṣa, one of the many forms of Mañjuśrī.

After Śāntideva for nearly a century and a half we do not meet with dated manuscripts in Sanskrit belonging to the Buddhist faith except the *Jñānasiddhi* of Indrabhūti. But there is no doubt that during this period Vajrayāna developed in a marvellously rapid degree. Great many works

\* C. Bendall's Introduction to *Śikṣā-Samuccaya*, p. V.

It seems to me likely that he flourished at a period prior to the time of Indrabhūti (C. 77-750) as he does not mention the five Dhyāni Buddhas in any of his works. The five Dhyāni Buddhas were invented by Indrabhūti and had Śāntideva known it, he would have mentioned them, inasmuch as his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* mentions the two among them, Amitābha and Akṣobhya.



were written, and great many deities were added to the Pantheon. Yantras (magic diagrams) and Maṇḍalas (magic circles) were invented, Mantras (charms) and Vijamantras (germ-syllable;) were assigned to individual deities, and the number of deities increased astonishingly.

In the reign of Rudradeva (1015 A.D.) we find manuscripts of *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* bearing a large number of miniature pictures of Buddhist Tāntric deities. Some illustrated manuscripts of *Pañcarakṣā* belong to the same period. The various copies of the *Sādhana-mālā* that we have been able to gather, date from A.D. 1165 and in one of these no less than four hundred descriptions or Dhyānas of both minor and principal deities are to be found.

Though Tantrayāna was introduced into the Mahāyāna System, it did not wield a great influence on the minds of the Indians before 700 A.D. Tārānāth writing in the 16th century says plainly that the Tantras existed in an occult form in the period between the time of Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti (A.D. 645-71),\* for naturally it takes rather a long time to assimilate an entirely foreign influence such as the Tantra. Tārānāth further says that during the reign of the Pāla Dynasty there were many Vajrācāryyas and Siddhapuruṣas, who performed many prodigious feats. It was during this period that the Vikramaśīla monastery was famous as a centre of Tāntric learning and culture.†

The very first thing that Vajrayāna brought with it was the five Dhyāni Buddhas and their Śaktis along with a number of deities as emanating from them in the same way as Avalokiteśvara emanated from Amitābha, and as Prajñāpāramitā emanated from Akṣobhya mentioned in a Sādhana attributed to Asaṅga in the *Sādhana-mālā*. The creator of all this, in all probability, was Indrabhūti, the king of Uddiyāna, who, according to Tibetan tradition‡, flourished in the first half of the eighth century A.D. The word Vajrayāna is first met with in his work, entitled, *Jñānasiddhi*, in which there is a chapter on *Pañcākāra* giving the origin and the forms of the Dhyāni Buddhas. This

\* " Dharmakīrti is not mentioned by Yuan Chwang (travelled through India 629-645) but he is spoken of by I-Tsing (671-95). Consequently, Dharmakīrti's palmy days were in 645-71 "—U. Vaidya, *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*. p. 17.

† Kern : *Manual of Buddhism*. p. 133.

‡ Indrabhūti's son is Guru Padmasambhava, who went to Tibet in 647 A. D., and his daughter is Lakṣmīkarā, who is believed to have been the founder and a vigorous exponent of Sahajayāna. Waddel : *Lamaism*, pp. 380 ff. Śāstri : *Buddhists in Bengal*, in the *Dacca Review*, Vol. II, No. 7. p. 98. " Sahajayana was preached by one of the Uddiya chiefs named Indrabhūti and his gifted daughter Lakṣmī Devi or Lakṣmīkarā Devi." See also *Tanpur Cat.* 2e partie—pp. 55 and 211.

work breathes throughout the doctrines of Tantra and betrays the anxiety of the author to establish a definite school of Mahāyāna by means of learned discussions and arguments. The theory of Mahāsukha also appears for the first time in this work with all its various ramifications. There is a great deal of controversy regarding the identification of Uḍḍiyāna; some hold that it is the same as U-Chang-na of Hiuen Tsang or Udyāna in the Swat Valley in the North-Western Frontier Province, but many others are of opinion that it is the same as Orissa. The latter theory seems probable, for Uḍḍiyāna must be a place where Vajrayāna flourished, and a place where we should expect to find some Vajrayāna images. Sādhnamālā mentions four Pīṭhas or sacred spots of Vajrayāna, namely, Kāmākhyā, Sirihatṭa, Pūrṇagiri\* and Uḍḍiyāna, and Uḍḍiyāna must be a place not very far off from Kāmākhyā and Sirihatṭa. Moreover, in the Sādhnamālā there is a Sādhana for the worship of a four-armed variety of Kurukullā, which goes by the name of Uḍḍiyāna Kurukullā, or Kurukullā as worshipped in Uḍḍiyāna. Images of this deity is extremely rare and if we are to believe the testimony of Mr. N. N. Vasu the only image of this variety of Kurukullā has been discovered in Orissa†. Lastly in Buddhist MSS of the Tāntric period the variants, Oḍḍa, Oḍra, Uḍra, Oḍaviṣa, Oḍiyāna, are mentioned, and all these seem to be the variants of Uḍḍiyāna. All this evidence, combined together, points to the identification of Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa, where innumerable images belonging to the Vajrayāna School have been discovered. Against the first theory identifying Uḍḍiyāna with Udyāna several arguments may be brought forward. We have no evidence that Tantra in the form of Vajrayāna ever flourished in Udyāna, nor a single Tāntric image is reported to have been discovered there, though much earlier images of the Gandhara School are daily coming out from this site. It is, moreover, improbable that Uḍḍiyāna being one of the four Pīṭhas would be two thousand miles away from two others, Kāmākhyā and Sirihatṭa, which are contiguous. In view of these facts we may conveniently identify Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa and set aside its identification with Udyāna.

Alexander Csoma de Koros places the introduction of the conception of Ādi-Buddha in Central Asia in the last half of the 10th century. The conception of Ādi-Buddha originated at Nalanda by the first half of the 10th century and no mention of Ādi-Buddha is made by Indian writers before that time. Ādi-Buddha is the Primordial Buddha from whom the five Dhyānī Buddhas are said to have taken their origin, and homage is paid to

\* Pūrṇagiri has not been identified.

† N. N. Vasu : *Maurubhanj Archaeological Survey*.

Ādi-Buddha in the shape of a flame, which the priests of Nepal consider eternal, self-born and self-existent. Ādi-Buddha first manifested himself in Nepal in the shape of a flame of fire, and Mañjuśrī is said to have erected a temple over it in order to preserve the flame.\* This temple is known as the Svayambhū Caitya ( Plate II ) and the place derives its name from it.

The conception of Vajradhara in human form presupposes Ādi-Buddha and therefore later than the first half of the 10th. century. Vajrasattva, being a regular development of Vajrapāṇi, the Bodhisattva emanating from Akṣobhya, might be a little earlier. In Vajrayāna, Ādi-Buddha is regarded as the highest deity, the originator even of the Dhyanī Buddhas. When represented in human form ( Plate V ), Ādi-Buddha begets the name of Vajradhara and is conceived in two forms, single, and *Yab-yum*. Vajradhara is decked in princely ornaments and garments, sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude, with his two hands, carrying the Vajra in the right and the Ghantā in the left, crossed against the breast in what is known as the Vajrahūṅkāra Mudrā. When represented in *Yab-yum* (Plate VI.a-b-c) his form would be exactly the same as described above, with the difference that he should be embraced in *Yab-yum* by his Śakti, whose name, according to Getty, is Prajñāpāramitā. The Śakti is richly dressed and richly decked in ornaments, and carries the Karti in the right hand and the Kapāla in the left.

The Ādi or the Primordial Buddha was accepted mainly in the Kālacakrayāna,† a later development of the Vajrayāna, and the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* which deals with the glories of the Svayambhūṅkṣetra "the place of the Self-born" or Ādi Buddha, belongs to the system of Kālacakrayāna. This Ādi-Buddha, it may be pointed out, is a generic name. It signifies Vajradhara, described above, in the Kālacakrayāna; but the Vajrayānists were not slow to appreciate the theory of a Primordial Buddha. Some considered Akṣobhya to be the Ādi-Buddha, others considered in the same way other Dhyanī Buddhas as the Ādi-Buddha, after their own fashion. Thus the Vajrayānists were divided into so many cults, according as they accepted

\* It is very curious that Mañjuśrī is connected with this tradition as recorded in the *Svayambhū Purāṇa*. Mañjuśrī is as old as 4th century A. D. if not earlier and the conception of Ādi Buddha first originated in the first half of the 10th century. We wonder how Mañjuśrī could ever come to erect a temple over the flame. See Oldfield: *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. II. p. 90 and 156 ff. and 188. Hodgson's *Essays*, pp. 115 ff.

† The conception of Ādi Buddha originated at the Nālanda monastery in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. See J. A. B. S. Vol. II (1833), p. 57 *et seq.*; also my article on *Vajradhara vs. Vajrasattva* in J. B. O. R. S. Vol. IX, p. 111 *et seq.*

one or the other of the Dhyānī Buddhas as the Ādi-Buddha. The followers of different cults made their deities bear the image of their own Dhyānī or Ādi-Buddha on their crown, sometimes contrary to the directions laid down in the Sādhanaś.\* We have evidence in a work belonging to the Akṣobhya cult that even the Dhyānī Buddhas themselves bear the image of Akṣobhya on their head in order to show their origin.† In other words, the followers of different cults believed the other Dhyānī Buddhas to be the offsprings of that particular Dhyānī Buddha whom they considered as their own Ādi Buddha.

The Hindus say that the number of their deities is thirty-three *crores*, and it seems that the Buddhists can claim a similar figure. One single deity may have innumerable forms according to the number of hands, the number of faces and the number of legs. He will differ, again, according to colour, according as he is worshipped in different Maṇḍalas, the number of which it is no very easy matter to ascertain. He will differ again according as he is invoked in different Tāntric rites, according to his companions, in accordance with the Āsanas, and the different weapons that are held in his hands. A permutation and combination of these different categories will give innumerable forms to one single deity. Besides these, the deity varies according to the whims of the devotees, or the donors, and ignorance of the sculptors or the painters.

\* This accounts for the image of Amitābha on the crowns of the Sarnath figure of Uccuṣṇa Jambhala and the Lucknow Museum figure of Mārici, and also of Akṣobhya on the crown of the Indian Museum figure of Uṣṇisavijāyā. According to the Sādhanaś, the image either of Ratnasambhava or of Akṣobhya is prescribed for Uccuṣṇa Jambhala, that of Vairocana for both Mārici and Uṣṇisavijāyā. See *Infra*.

† Advaya-vajra, who flourished in the 11th century, was a follower of the Akṣobhya cult, and he makes all the Dhyānī Buddhas except Akṣobhya bear the miniature figure of the latter, in his work *Advaya-vajrasaṃgraha*, Fol. 16.



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## CHAPTER I.

### BUDDHAS, BUDDHAŚAKTIS AND BODHISATTVAS.

#### I. DHYĀNĪ BUDDHAS.

The Buddhists are more scientific than the Hindus in the matter of determining the hierarchy of the gods in their Pantheon. They believe that all gods emanated from one or the other of the Dhyānī Buddhas, popularly known as the Divine Buddhas, or four or five of them collectively; and the images of such emanations invariably bear the effigies of their sires on their head, crown or on the aureole behind them.

The Dhyānī Buddhas are a peculiar kind of Buddhas who are not required to pass through the stage of a Bodhisattva;\* they were never anything less than a Buddha. They are always engaged in peaceful meditation, and they voluntarily restrain themselves from the act of creation. To create is the duty of their emanations, the Divine Bodhisattvas.

The Dhyānī Buddhas are five in number to which a sixth, Vajrasattva is sometimes added. Though some of them were known before A. D. 700 yet the idea of the full five seems to have developed in the first half of the eighth century during the time of Indrabhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna. That the five Dhyānī Buddhas might have owed their origin to the theory of the eternity of the five senses, seems to be borne out by a passage † in the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* of Āryadeva.‡ But it may also be possible that the

\* Kern : Manual of Buddhism, p. 64.

† The passage is :—

Caḥṣur-Vairocana Buddhaḥ śravaṇa Vajrasūnyakaḥ  
Ghrāṇaśca paramādyasta Padmanartteśvaro mukham  
Kāyaḥ Śrī-Heruko rājā Vajrasattvañca mānasam.

....J. A. S. B. 1898, p. 178.

‡ The author of this work is Āryadeva, who has been identified with the famous disciple of Nāgārjuna of the same name to whom *Catuhśatikā* is attributed, in J. A. S. B. 1898, p. 176. We respectfully differ from this statement on the following grounds, and identify him with the Tāntric author Āryadeva or Āyadeva; the Tangyur Catalogue attributes the work, *Cittasodhanaprakaraṇa* to him; and the mention of Vajradhara, Vajrasattva, Heruka, and the five Dhyānī Buddhas in this work makes us confident that this Āryadeva cannot be so old as the 3rd. Century, but must be later than 700 A. D. in any case. It may also be pointed out that the name of the work was not given in the manuscript itself; the name was suggested by C. Bendall.

five mudrās, which Buddha Śākyasimha made sacred by using on memorable occasions and which were constantly realized in the Buddhist figures of the different schools of art—gave rise to the five Dhyānī Buddhas (Plate VIcd). Advayavajra who flourished in the 11th century has written in one of his works that the five Dhyānī Buddhas took their origin from the theory of the eternity of the five Skandhas (elements), or rather, that they were the embodiments of the Skandhas, which were held by Lord Buddha to be the constituents of a Being fused together by action. Vajrasattva,\* the sixth Dhyānī Buddha who is generally regarded as the priest of the five Dhyānī Buddhas and is usually represented with the priestly symbols, the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, is an embodiment of the five Skandhas collectively and undoubtedly a later incorporation to the Pantheon of the Northern Buddhists.

We have already said that the number of the Dhyānī Buddhas is five to which a sixth is sometimes added. The order in which the Nepalese Buddhists worship them is as follows :—

1. V a i r o c a ṇ a
2. A k ṣ o b h y a
3. R a t n a s a m b h a v a
4. A m i t ā b h a
5. A m o g h a s i d d h i
6. V a j r a s a t t v a

Excepting the last, they appear all alike, but they vary according to the particular colour of their body and the different positions of their hands. The following verse in the Sādhana-mālā gives the colour and the mudrā of each.

Jino Vairocana khyāto Ratnasambhava eva ca |  
 Amitābhāmoghasiddhir-Akṣobhyaśca prakīrtitaḥ ||  
 Varṇaḥ amiśam sitaḥ pīto rakto haritamecakau |  
 Bodhyagrī-Varado-Dhyānaṃ mudrā Abhaya-Bhūsprśau ||

“The Jinas (victorious ones) are Vairocana, Ratnasambhava Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Akṣobhya, whose colours respectively are white, yellow, red, green and blue and who exhibit the Bodhyagrī (Dharmacakra or Teaching), Varada (Gift-bestowing), Dhyāna (Meditative), Abhaya (Assurance) and Bhūsprśa (Earth-touching) attitudes of hands respectively.”

When represented, the Dhyānī Buddhas closely resemble each other. The differences, as has already been said, depend besides their colour on the positions in which the hands are held, and on the Vāhanas which they ride. Every Dhyānī Buddha is always represented in a sitting posture on a full blown double lotus. This attitude is known as the Dhyānāsana or the medita-

\* The word, ‘Vajra’ means ‘Śūnya’ or Void and ‘sattva’ means ‘essence,’ and so Vajrasattva is a god whose essence is Śūnya or Void.

tive attitude, in which he is required to sit cross-legged, the right foot crossing over and in front of the left with the soles of both feet turned upwards. The hand which rests on the lap is sometimes empty but in most cases it carries a bowl. The head is bare, and hair curly, which radiates effulgence like a flame. The eyes are half closed in meditation. They are dressed in an under-garment reaching from the breast to the knees and tied by a scarf. The body is loosely covered by the habit of a monk, leaving only the right arm bare.

The Dhyāni Buddhas are generally represented on the four sides of a Stūpa, which is the symbol of the Buddhist Universe, facing the four cardinal points. Vairocana is the deity of the inner shrine and is therefore generally unrepresented; but exceptions to this rule are by no means rare. He is occasionally assigned a place between Ratnasambhava and Akṣobhya. Independent shrines are also dedicated to each of these Buddhas.

#### 1. AMITĀBHA.

Colour—Red.	Mudrā—Samādhi.
Crest—Lotus.	Vāhana—A pair of peacocks.

By far the most ancient in the group of the Dhyāni Buddhas is Amitābha, who is conceived as residing in the Sukhāvati Heaven in peaceful meditation. He presides over the current Kalpa (cycle), which goes by the name of Bhadrakalpa. But it is not his business to create or to stir himself to action; it is his Bodhisattva, Padmapāṇi who is the active energy or the creative principle. He faces the West and the Nepalese Buddhists regard him as the fourth Dhyāni Buddha. His two hands with palm open lie on his lap, one upon the other (Samādhimudrā or Dhyānamudrā). His colour is red and his Vāhana is a pair of peacocks. His crest or cognizance is the full-blown lotus.\* (Plate VIIa).†

\* The following description appears in Advaya vajrasaṃgraha :—

“ Paścime dale ravimaṇḍalopari rakta-Hrīḥ-kārasambhūto raktavarṇapomītābhah padmacinhasamādhimudrādharah Saṃjñāskandhasvabhāvo . . . grīṣṇapūṣṭurūpaḥ āmlarasa-śarīrah Tavaragātma . . . jāpamaṇṭraśācāyaṃ Om Āḥ Ārolika Hum ” . . . Fol. 27.

† This and the other four miniatures of the five Dhyāni Buddhas have been taken from an illuminated manuscript of Pañcarakṣā (about 400 years old) which was very kindly lent to me by Dr. W. Y. Evans Wentz, an American Anthropologist. In the miniature it may be noticed that the Vāhanas are always in pairs, and on the open space between them is the crest of the Dhyāni Buddha.



## 2. AKṢOBHYA.

Colour—Blue.	Mudrā—Bhūparśa.
Crest—Vajra.	Vāhana—A pair of elephants.

Next in importance and antiquity is undoubtedly Akṣobhya who is first mentioned as a Tathāgata in the smaller recension of the Amitāyus Sūtra, which was translated into Chinese between A. D. 384 and A. D. 417. The Vajrayāna Pantheon shows that a large number of deities, both masculine and feminine, have emanated from him. Akṣobhya is regarded as the second Dhyānī Buddha by the Nepalese Buddhists and when represented in the Stūpas, he always faces the East. His colour is blue. His left hand rests on the lap, while the right rests upon the right knee with the tips of the fingers touching the ground with palm downwards (Bhūsparśa or Bhūmisparśana Mudrā.\* (Plate VIIb). † His Vāhana is a pair of elephants and his crest or cognizance is the Vajra. (Plate VIIc).

## 3. VAIROCANA.

Colour—White.	Mudrā—Dharmacakra.
Crest—Cakra.	Vāhana—A pair of Dragons.

Whether the Vairocana mentioned in the Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa of Āryadeva, really refers to the Dhyānī Buddha, is difficult to determine, but there it is clearly stated that Vairocana presides over the eyes. His antiquity is borne out by the fact that a fairly large number of deities emanates from him, Mārici being their chief, to whom again a large number of Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā are devoted. He is regarded as the oldest and the first Dhyānī Buddha by the Nepalese Buddhists and his place is in the sanctum of the stūpa, where he is the master of the whole temple and its contents. Naturally, therefore, he cannot be represented outside the stūpa; but exceptions to this rule are frequently met with in celebrated Caityas in Nepal, where he is represented in the space between Akṣobhya in the East and Ratnasambhava in the South. His colour is white and his two hands are held against the breast with the tips of the thumb and forefinger

\* Compare Advaya vajrasaṃgraha—"Nīla-Huṃ-kāraṇiṣpaṇṇadvibhūja cakamukho bhūsparśamudrādharo vajraparyāṅki . . . . . kṣapa vajracinhaḥ suvīśuddhadharmadhātu-Vijñānaskandhasvabhāvaḥ . . . . . śīrīramadhyāhna kaṭaśrutiāṅkāśāśabdacavargo. Aḥ Vajradhṛk Huṃ aya jāpamantraḥ . . . . . Fol. 26.

† The reproductions of the three stone images of Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi are from photographs of a Nepalese caitya.

of each hand united (Dharmacakramudrā)\* (Plate VIIIa).† His Vāhana is a pair of dragons or gryphons and his crest is the Cakra or the discus (Plate VIIId).

#### 4. AMOGHASIDDHI.

Colour—Green.	Mudrā—Abhaya.
Crest—Viśvavajra.	Vāhana—A pair of Garuḍas.

A tolerably large number of deities emanates from this Dhyānī Buddha, who is regarded in some quarters as another form of Amitābha and is comparatively a later addition to the Pantheon. The Nepalese Buddhists consider him to be the fifth Dhyānī Buddha in order. His left hand lies open on his lap and the right exhibits the Abhayamudrā or the attitude of assurance.‡ When represented, his colour is green and he always faces the North. His Vāhana is a pair of Garuḍas and his crest is the Viśvavajra or the conventional double thunderbolt (Plate VIIIb). Sometimes a serpent with seven hoods forms the background and the expanded hoods form his umbrella. (Plate VIIIc). In front of his shrine therefore, is found a small square pit which represents the tank in which the serpent resides.

#### 5. RATNASAMBHAVA.

Colour—Yellow.	Mudrā—Varada.
Crest—Jewels.	Vāhana—A pair of lions.

A few deities only emanate from this Dhyānī Buddha and this fact accounts for his late incorporation into the Buddhist Pantheon. The Nepalese Buddhists regard him as the third Dhyānī Buddha in order, who always faces the South when represented on the Stūpas. His colour is yellow; his left hand rests on the lap with open palm and the right exhibits the Varadamudrā or the gift-bestowing attitude § (Plate IXa). His Vāhana is a pair of lions and his crest is the jewel (Ratnacchaṭā) (Plate VIIId).

\* Compare Advayavajrasaṅgraha—"Om kārājah śuklavarnṇaḥ Vairocanaḥ śukla [cakra] cinhaḥ Bodhyagrimudrādharah Rūpaskandhasvabhāvaḥ...Nemanta-tuvisuddhaḥ madhurasāsarīrah kavargavyāpī...Om Āḥ Jinajikā Hum ityasya jāpamantraḥ." ....Fol. 26.

† This bronze belongs to the collection of Pandit Siddhiharṣa.

‡ Cf. Advayavajrasaṅgraha—"Uttaradale śyāma-Khaṁ-kārājah [śyānavarnṇo-moghasiddhiḥ viśvavajracihnābhayamudrādharo saṁskāraskandhasvabhāvo varṣārturūpal] ....tikṭarasātmakah pavargaviśuddhaḥ...asya ca mantraḥ Om Āḥ Prajñādhṛk Hum iti" ....Fol. 27.

§ Op. cit. Fol. 26-27—"Dakṣiṇadale sūryyamaṇḍaloparī Trāṁ-kārājah pīṭavarṇṇo Ratnasambhavo ratnacihnavaradamudrādharo vedanāsvabhāvapiśunaśarīrah...vasantaṭ-tulabaśarīrah ṭavargavyāpī...Om Āḥ Ratnadhṛk Hum aya jāpamantraḥ."

## 6. VAJRASATTVA.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.

Symbols—Vajra and Ghaṇṭā.

Vajrasattva, the sixth Dhyāni Buddha is regarded, at least by the Vajrācāryyas of Nepal, as the Purohita or the priest of the group of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. He is not represented in the Stūpa, but independent shrines are dedicated to his worship. His worship is always performed in secret and is not open to those who are not initiated into the mysteries of the Vajrayāna, and he is represented in two forms, single and Yab-yum (Anuttara-Vajrasattva).

The most notable feature of this Dhyāni Buddha is that he wears ornaments and princely garments instead of the three pieces of rags (tricvara). Instead of bare head he has a gaudy Mukuṭa (tiara) over it. These would have suited a Bodhisattva quite well but the mere idea of a Dhyāni Buddha wearing ornaments and rich garments is altogether reprehensible.

He sits cross-legged (Dhyānāsana) and carries the Vajra in the right hand with palm upwards against the breast and the Ghaṇṭā in the left resting against the left thigh \* (Plate IXb). When represented singly he is exhibited before the public. The Sādhana-māla has several Sādhana in which there are short Dhyānas or descriptions of Vajrasattva both single and Yab-yum. One of the Dhyānas mentions him as bearing the effigy of Akṣobhya on the crown, thereby alleging that at least in some quarters he was regarded as an emanation of Akṣobhya, and his dress and ornaments supply ample materials for thinking so; and in that case he would be another form of Vajrapāṇi. Whatever might be the fact, the modern Buddhists regard him as one of the highest among the gods of the Buddhist Pantheon.

When represented in Yab-yum he is closely associated with his Śakti in embrace. He carries the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā exactly in the same way when represented singly; but the Śakti carries the Kartri in the right hand and the Kapāla in the left. (Plate IXcde).

In identifying the images of Dhyāni Buddhas it should always be remembered that they must and shall be represented in the Vajraparyāṅka (Adamantine) pose or the Dhyānāsana (meditative pose), and if any image is

\* Cf. Advaya-vajrasaṅgraha, Fol. 26—"Vajrasattveṣṭu Hum-kārajanmā...dvi-bhuja ekavaktra vajravajraghaṇṭādharah manahsvabhāvaḥ kṛpāyasaśarīrah śaraṇtu-viśuddhaḥ yavalavādyātmakaḥ"... (Compare also the description given in the Dharmakośasaṅgraha of Amṛtānanda—"Ekavaktraḥ śuklavarṇaḥ jaṭāmukuṭi saṃmudrālaṅkṛtaḥ dvibhujah savyena hṛdayapradete ākuñcītena bhujena kulīṣaṃ bibhṛānaḥ yasmin kulīṣe śatāni kotayaḥ agraḥbhāgāḥ santi. Vāmena bhujena nābhīpradete ākuñcītena ghaṇṭāṃ vādayamānaḥ....Mārāḥ palāyitāḥ. Kamalopari vajrasanaḥ."

represented otherwise, we may at once reject its identification as a Dhyāni Buddha.\*

The tabular statement in page 7A shows the colour, position, mudrā, crest the Vijamantra, the Skandhas, the seasons, tastes and the letters of the alphabet represented by the five Dhyāni Buddhas.

## II. DIVINE BUDDHAŚAKTIS.

Next in rank, but not very widely represented is the group of the Divine Buddhaśaktis, five in number, to which a sixth is added. The Buddhaśaktis affiliate themselves to their respective Dhyāni Buddhas, whose figures or images they generally bear on their crown. Cases in which they are represented on the stupas, in full form to the left of their husbands, are rare but more often their symbols or the Yantras are represented each on a slab in a niche. They occupy the corners intermediate between the four cardinal points taken up by the four or five Dhyāni Buddhas as the case may be.† The Buddhaśaktis are :—

1. Vajradhātviśvarī (Plate Xa).
2. Locanā (Plate Xb).
3. Māmaki (Plate Xc).
4. Pāṇḍarā (Plate Xd).
5. Āryatārā (Plate XIa).
6. Vajrasattvātmikā.

Each Dhyāni Buddha has a Śakti or consort associated with him through whom a Divine Bodhisattva is brought forth. The Buddhaśaktis, when sculptured or painted are represented in a sitting posture, mostly in Lalitāsana on a full blown lotus. The two hands generally hold a lotus each, while the left hand exhibiting the Abhaya pose and the right resting on the right foreleg. The figure wears a petticoat fastened round the loins and a tight-fitting jacket or a bodice. Each head is decorated with a bejewelled crown. Each Śakti has the colour and the Vāhana of the Dhyāni Buddha to whom

\* In the stone image of Vajrasattva (Plate IXb) from Nepal, he sits in the Paryāṅka attitude instead of the Vajraparyāṅka attitude. There is an inscription on the pedestal purporting the image to be that of Vajrasattva. Nowhere else have we found Vajrasattva represented in the Paryāṅkāsaṇa. All the images of Vajrasattva in the Indian Museum and the Sarnath Museum strictly follow the description given in the Dharmakośasaṅgraha. This Nepal image is the only exception to this rule.

† See Oldfield : Sketches from Nipal, II, p. 171-72.

she belongs. The Buddhaśaktis are so alike in appearance that they can be recognized only by the crests that they bear on the lotus.\*

### III. DIVINE BODHISATTVAS.

The word, 'Bodhisattva' in earlier times was synonymous with Saṅgha or the Holy Order and every Buddhist of the Mahāyāna faith was entitled to be called a Bodhisattva. In the Gāndhāra School of sculpture we meet with innumerable Bodhisattva images, both standing and sitting, and we venture to think that these images represented the more influential ones of the Holy Order. In Hiuen Tsang's time the great savants only of the Mahāyāna faith went by the name of Bodhisattva. This is true at least in the case of men like, Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghōṣa, Maitreya-nātha, Āryadeva and the like. The Buddhist scriptures prescribe certain extraordinary qualities and characteristics for the Bodhisattva. The duty of the Divine Bodhisattvas however, is to do the duties of a Mortal Buddha during the period between the disappearance of one Buddha and the coming of the next. Thus Gautama Buddha has disappeared and at least 4000 years after his disappearance Maitreya Buddha who is now in the Tuṣita Heaven would descend to earth. During the interval Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva or Avalokiteśvara is doing the duties of a Mortal Buddha and thus he will continue so long as the Bhadrakalpa or the cycle of Amitābha continues.

The Divine Bodhisattvas are also five in number to which a sixth is likewise added. They affiliate themselves to one or the other of the Dhyāni Buddhas and their respective Buddhaśaktis. They are :—

1. Sāmantabhadra (Plate XIb).
2. Vajrapāṇi (Plate XIc).
3. Ratnapāṇi (Plate XI d).
4. Padmapāṇi (Plate XIe).
5. Viśvapāṇi (Plate XI f).
6. Gaṇṭhāpāṇi.

They are sometimes represented as standing erect and sometimes in different sitting attitudes (e.g. Plate XIIb) each on a full-blown lotus and usually as holding in each hand a long stem of the same plant on which is placed the crest of the spiritual father of each. Each is covered by a robe and the upper part is covered by a scarf. The hair is cut short and on the head is a jewelled

\* The illustrations of the five Buddhaśaktis have been taken from Wright's History of Nepal, Plate VI. Mr. Wright reproduces in Plate VI several drawings prepared by the native Cītrakāras of Nepal.

tiara which bears in the centre the effigy of that Buddha to whom the Bodhisattva owes its existence.\* In order to explain more clearly the relation between the Bodhisattvas, their Buddhaśaktis and the Dhyāni Buddhas a tabular statement is given below :—

Dhyāni Buddha	Divine Buddhaśakti	Divine Bodhisattva
Vairocana	Vajradhātviśvarī	Sāmantabhadra
Akṣobhya	Locanā	Vajrapāṇi
Ratnasambhava	Māmaki	Ratnapāṇi
Amitābha	Pāṇḍarā	Padmapāṇi
Amoghasiddhi	Āryatārā	Viśvapāṇi
Vajrasattva	Vajrasattvātmikā	Ghaṇṭāpāṇi

The illustrations† represent the five Divine Bodhisattvas in bronze. They are perhaps unique of their kind in India and hail from the U Vahāl at Pātan in Nepal. All these images exactly correspond to the dictum laid down above except in the cases of Sāmantabhadra and Vajrapāṇi. The former shows the Dharmacakra Mudrā like his spiritual father, Vairocana, while the latter carries the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, the symbols of Vajrasattva, though not exactly in the same fashion. But according to the dictum, Sāmantabhadra ought to have carried the stem of the lotus bearing the Cakra, the symbol of his father in his two hands, the right palm in Varadamudrā being stamped with the same cognizance (Plate XIIa). The image of Vajrapāṇi on the other hand would have been more consistent if it had carried the stem of the lotus bearing the Vajra, the symbol of his spiritual father, Akṣobhya and if one of his hands had been stamped with it. ‡ The Vajra and Ghaṇṭā are the symbols of Vajrasattva and Ghaṇṭāpāṇi carries them. We are likely to confuse the images of the two, but the only consolation is that Ghaṇṭāpāṇi is very rarely represented.

#### IV. MORTAL BUDDHAS.

Both the Mahāyānists and the Hinayānists hold that a Buddha is one who is endowed with the thirty-two major and eighty minor auspicious marks. These are known as the external characteristics enumerated in Dharmasam-

\* See also Oldfield : *Sketches from Nipal* Vol. II, p. 176.

† In Plate XI.

‡ See Plate XIIb.

graha, attributed to Nāgārjuna.\* He must have in addition three kinds of mental characteristics, namely, the ten Balas or forces, eighteen Āvenika Dharmas or peculiar properties, and the four Vaiśaradvas or points of self-confidence or assurance.†

The Hinayānists recognized in the earliest state twenty-four past Buddhas each having a peculiar Bodhi tree. The Mahāyanists also give several lists, though not systematically, and thirty-two different names have been recovered. The last seven Tathāgatas are well-known and are designated by the Mahāyanists as Mānuṣī or Mortal Buddhas. These are, Vipāśyin, Sikkhī, Viśva-bhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kaśyapa and Śākyasimha.‡ It is still to be found out whether these Buddhas, excepting the last of course, have any historicity behind them. We may be certain, however, that Kanakamuni and Krakucchanda were historical personages.§

Attempts have been made to establish a fantastic connection between the last five Mortal Buddhas with the five Dhyānī Buddhas and their Bodhisattvas by holding that the Divine Bodhisattvas discharge their duties of creation through the agency of the five Mortal Buddhas. The theory may be current in Tibet ; it may ingeniously establish a new connection and may find strong support from scholars, but we may rest assured that the theory is against all historical sense and traditions.

When represented, the last seven Mortal Buddhas appear all alike ; they are of one colour and one form, usually sitting cross-legged with the right hand displaying the earth-touching attitude,\*\* that is, the Mudrā of Akṣobhya and as a matter of fact we are unable to identify a sculpture of the latter unless it is coloured or if no other identification mark is present. When painted, the Mortal Buddhas generally have yellow or golden colour. The only possible chance of identifying them is when they appear in groups of seven.

Sometimes they are represented as standing, in which case they appear under a distinguishing Bodhi Tree and with a distinguishing mudrā. The Indian Museum image No. B. G. 83 (Plate XIId) is an image of this kind. It may be noted however that Maitreya, the future Buddha has been added to this group.

\* Dharmasaṅgraha, pp. 53-60.

† Kern : Manual of Buddhism, p. 62.

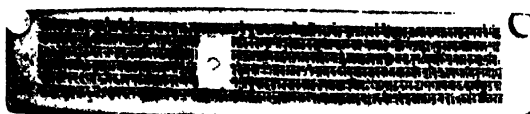
‡ Ibid, p. 64.

§ Ibid, footnote 1.

\*\* Colossal images of the seven Mortal Buddhas representing them in the Bhūmiśparśa Mudrā appear in one of the Buddhist Cave Temples at Ellora. See Fergusson and Burgess: Cave Temples of India, p. 383.



(a) First page of *Sādhanamālā*.  
(*Palm-leaf Ms. from Nepal*)



(b) Another page containing the alphabet.  
(*Palm-leaf Ms. from Nepal*)



(c) Last page of *Pañcaraksū*.  
(*Ms. in A.S.B.*)



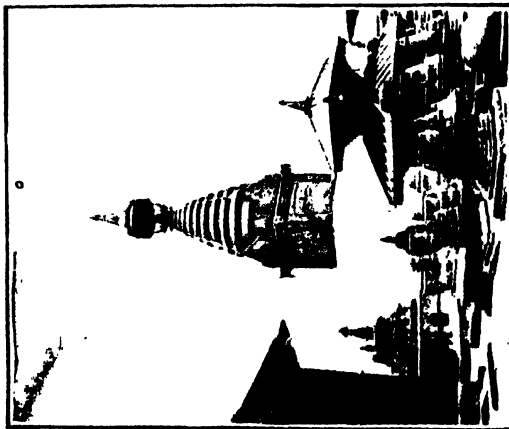
(d) *Guru Padmasambhava*.  
(*Buddh*)



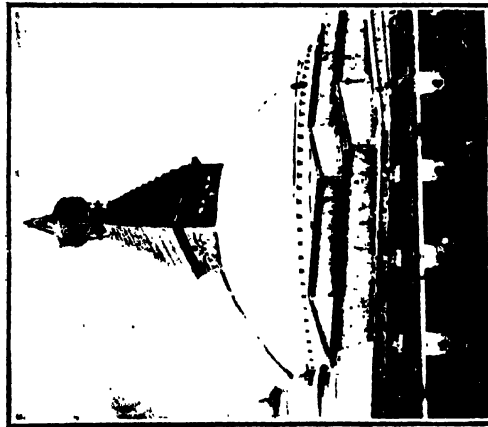
(e) *Māyā's Dream*.  
(*Bharhut*)



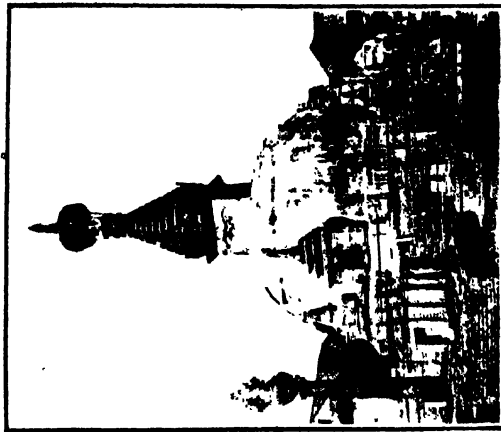
THREE CELEBRATED STUPAS OF NEPAL.



Simbhū.

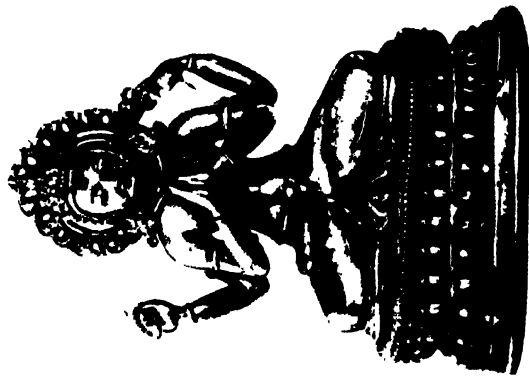


Baudh.



Kāthe Simbhū.

THE BUDDHIST TRIAD.



Dharma .



Buddha.

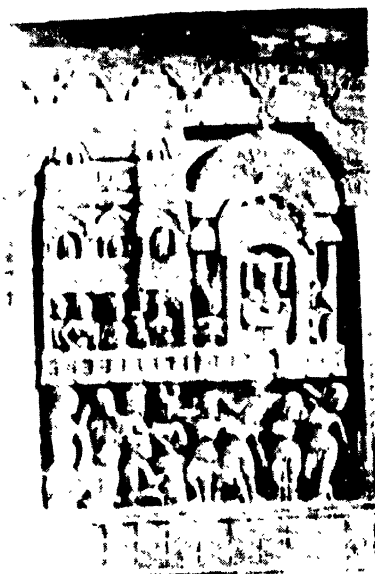


Sangha.

SYMBOL-WORSHIP.



a. Bodhi Tree.  
(Amaravati)



b. Buddha's Head-dress.  
(Bharhut)



c. Buddha's Foot-prints.  
(Bharhut)



d. Wheel-of-the-Law.  
(Bharhut)



ADI-BUDDHA, VAJRADHARA,  
THE HIGHEST GOD OF THE BUDDHIST PANTHEON.



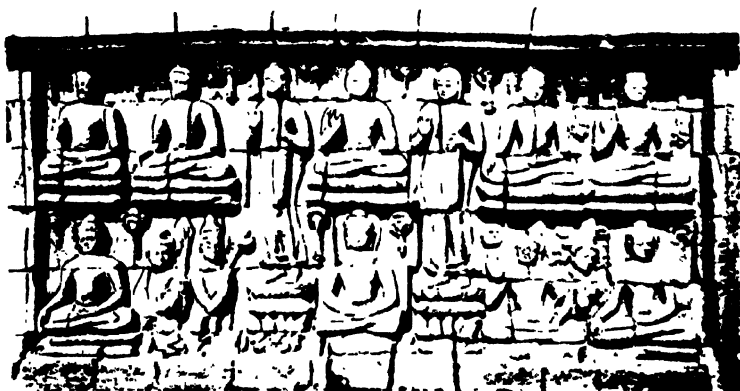
( After a Nepalese painting )



a. Vajradhara Yab-yum  
(Nepal).



b. Vajradhara Yab-yum  
(Side View).



c. Buddha in different Mudrās (Java).



d. Buddha in different Mudrās (Nalanda).



a. Amitābha



b. Akṣobhya  
(Nepal).



c. Akṣobhya



d. Vairocana



a. Vairocana  
(Nepal).



b. Amoghasiddhi



c. Amoghasiddhi  
(Nepal).



d. Ratnasambhava

## GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

Gautama, the last of the group of the seven Mortal Buddhas, is widely represented both in sculptures and in paintings. His images date from a period anterior to the birth of Christ and the Indian sculptors never seem to have been tired of this one hackneyed subject. Innumerable images of Buddha in innumerable attitudes and expressions have been discovered in India and this is true also of countries beyond, where Buddhism penetrated. Images of Buddha, therefore, are an independent study by themselves.

The Sādhnamālā furnishes us with several descriptions of Buddha in Vajrāsana, who is represented as sitting in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude with his right hand displaying the Bhūmiśparśana pose. The Dhyāna\* as given in one of the Sādhana in the Sādhnamālā is thus quoted below and translated :--

Savyakareṇa Bhūṣparśamudrām utsangasthitāvasavyahastam kāsāyavastrāvagunṭhanam nilagauraraktaśyāmacatur-Māropari viśvapadmavajrāvasthitam śāntam lakṣaṇavyañjanenānvitagātram. Tasya Bhagavato dakṣiṇe Maitreya-Bodhisattvaṃ gauram dvibhujaṃ jaṭāmukūṭinaṃ savyakareṇa cāmararatnadhāriṇaṃ avasavyena nāgakeśareṇa puspachhatādhāriṇaṃ. Tathā vāmato Lokeśvaraṃ śuklam dakṣiṇakareṇa cāmaradharam vāmakareṇa kamaladharam Bhagavanmukhāvalokanaparau ca tau bhāvayet....

Iti Vajrāsanasādhnam samāptam."

Sādhnamālā. A—15, N—13, C—5.

"The worshipper should meditate on himself as [Vajrāsana] who displays the Bhūṣparśa Mudrā in his right hand while the left rests on the lap; who is dressed in red garments and sits on the Vajra on a double lotus placed on the four Māras of blue, white, red and green colour; who is peaceful in appearance and whose body is endowed with all the major and minor auspicious marks.

To the right of the God is Maitreya Bodhisattva who is white, two-armed and wears the Jaṭāmukūṭa, and carries the chowrie-jewel in the right hand and the Nāgakeśara flower in the left.

Similarly to the left is Lokeśvara of white complexion carrying in his right hand the chowrie and the lotus in the left.

These two gods should be meditated as looking towards the face of the [principal] god.....

Here ends the Sādhana for Vajrāsana."

Images of this divinity are found in overwhelming numbers in almost all Buddhist centres in India. The Indian Museum image reproduced is an example of this form of Gautama in Plate XIIIa. †

\* See also Foucher: L'Iconographie Bouddhique p. 15 ff.

† It may be noted that instead of sitting on the Vajra the seat of the god is stamped with a small thunderbolt.



V. MORTAL BUDDHAŚAKTIS.

Like the Dhyāni Buddhas, the Mortal Buddhas have also their respective Buddhaśaktis through whom they obtained the seven Mortal Bodhisattvas. The Buddhaśaktis are :—

1. Vipāśyanti
2. Sikhimālinī
3. Viśvadhara
4. Kakudvati
5. Kāṇṭhamālinī
6. Mahidhara
7. Yaśodhara.\*

We have not yet met with any representation of these anywhere in India.

VI. MORTAL BODHISATTVAS.

They were brought into existence by their respective Mortal Buddhas and their Śaktis. They are :—

1. Mahāmati
2. Ratnadhara
3. Ākāśagañja
4. Śakamaṅgala
5. Kanakarāja
6. Dharmadhara
7. Ānanda.†

The names of Yaśodhara and Ānanda are familiar names, the former being the name of Śākyasimha's wife and the latter, that of his most favourite disciple.

\* See Oldfield : Sketches from Nipal, Vol. II, 163 and 185 ff.

† Ibid.

The relation between the Mortal Buddhas, their Buddhasaktis and Bodhisattvas may be thus shown in a tabular form :—

Mortal Buddha	Mortal Buddhasakti	Mortal Bodhisattva
Vipaśyī	Vipaśyanti	Mahīmati
Śikhī	Śikhimālinī	Ratnadhara
Viśvabhū	Viśvadhara	Ākāśagañja
Krakucchanda	Kakudvati	Śakamāṅgala
Kanakamuni	Kaṇṭhamālinī	Kanakarāja
Kaśyapa	Mahidharā	Dharmadhara
Śākyasiṃha	Yaśodharā	Ānanda

#### VII. MAITREYA, THE FUTURE BUDDHA.

It would not be out of place to mention here the name of Maitreya, who partakes of the nature of a Mortal Buddha, though he is not a Buddha yet: He is passing the life of a Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita Heaven, preparatory to his descent to the earth in human form. It is said that he would come to earth, full 4000 years after the disappearance of Buddha Gautama, for the deliverance of all sentient beings. Asaṅga is said to have visited Maitreya in the Tuṣita Heaven and the latter initiated him into the mysteries of Tantra. He is the only Bodhisattva worshipped both by the Hinayānists and the Mahāyānists alike, and his images can be traced from the Gāndhāra School down to the present time. Hiuen Tsang records the existence of a colossal image of Maitreya in Udyāna (U-chang-na). The sculptor in order to ascertain his correct form, is believed to have gone several times to the Tuṣita heaven before carving it.

Maitreya may be represented as a standing figure richly decorated with ornaments holding in his right hand the stalk of a lotus. He is distinguished from Padmapāṇi mainly by the figure of a small caitya, which the former bears on his crown. Getty remarks \* that in Indian sculpture his hands form the usual Dharmacakramudrā; in the left there is a vase, round, oval

\* Getty : Gods of the Northern Pantheon, p. 21.

or pointed, or there may be the stems of flowers which support his two characteristic symbols, the vase and the wheel. Maitreya may also be represented seated as a Buddha with legs interlocked or both dangling down. His colour is yellow and his images sometimes bear the figures of the five Dhyani Buddhas on the aureole behind them. The small caitya on the crown of Maitreya is said to refer to the belief that a stūpa in the mount Kukkuṭapāda near Bodh-Gaya covers a spot where Kaśyapa Buddha is lying. When Maitreya would descend to earth he would go direct to the spot which would open by magic and Kaśyapa would give him the garments of a Buddha.\*

The Sādhnamālā furnishes us with only one description of Maitreya as a principal divinity and several others in which he is represented as a minor god. When as a minor god he accompanies others, he generally carries the chowrie in the right hand and the Nāgakeśara flower in the left. The Sādhana describing the procedure of his worship has the following Dhyāna. †

....Pīta 'Maim'kāraparīṇatam viśvakamalasthitaṃ trimukhaṃ caturbhujam kṛṣṇaśukladakṣiṇāvāmamukhaṃ suvarṇagauram sattvaparyāṅkinam vyākhyānamudrādharakaradvayaṃ aparadakṣiṇāvāmabhujābhyaṃ varadapūspitanāgakeśaramañjaridharam nānālankāradharam ātmānam Maitreyarūpaṃ ālambya.....

Maitreyasādhnam " Sādhnamālā, A-307, Na-23, C-236.

" The worshipper should meditate on himself as Maitreya who originates from the yellow germ syllable "Maim," who is three-faced, three-eyed and four-armed ; whose right and left faces respectively are of blue and white colour ; whose complexion is yellow like gold ; who sits in the Paryāṅka attitude on an animal ; whose two hands are engaged in exhibiting the Vyākhyāna Mudrā and who shows in his other right and left hands the Varada Mudrā and the sprout of a full-blown Nāgakeśara flower ; who is decked in many ornaments. Meditating thus.....

This is the Sādhana for Maitreya."

A Nepalese drawing reproduced in Plate XIIIb, represents this form of Maitreya, which follows the Dhyāna in all its details except the Vāhana.

\* Getty : Gods of the Northern Pantheon, p. 22.

† Also quoted in Foucher : L'Iconographie Bouddhique, part 2, p. 48

## CHAPTER II.

### MAÑJUŚRĪ.

There is no doubt, the scholars are agreed, that the place assigned to Mañjuśrī in the Buddhist Pantheon is one of the very highest. The Mahāyānists consider him to be one of the greatest Bodhisattvas. They believe that the worship of Mañjuśrī confers upon them wisdom, retentive memory, intelligence and eloquence and enables them to master many sacred scriptures; and it is no wonder that his worship was widely prevalent among the Mahāyānists. They conceived him in various forms and worshipped him with various mantras. Those who could not form any conception of him according to Tāntric rites, attained perfection by simply muttering the mantras.

It is difficult to fix the exact date when Mañjuśrī entered the Buddhist Pantheon. His image is not to be found in the Gandhara and Mathura sculptures, and Āśvaghoṣa Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva do not mention him in their works. His name occurs for the first time in the Sukhāvati Vyūha or the Amitāyus Sūtra.\* But here also his name appears only in the smaller recension of the work. This work was translated into Chinese between A.D. 384 and A. D. 417.† Since then we find mention of Mañjuśrī in the subsequent Buddhist Sanskrit works and in the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Fa-hien, † Hiuen Tsang, I-Tsing and others, and his images are to be found in the sculptures of Sarnath, Magadha, Bengal, Nepal and other places.

Many details § about Mañjuśrī are to be found in the Svayambhū Purāṇa dealing with the glories of the Svayambhūkṣettra in Nepal. The Ādi-Buddha manifested himself here in the shape of a flame of fire and so it is called the Svayambhūkṣettra or the 'Place of the Self-Born'. This place is consecrated with a temple of Ādi-Buddha and close to it is the Mañjuśrī Hill now known as the Sarasvatisthāna. The information about Mañjuśrī as gleaned from the Svayambhū Purāṇa is given below in brief.

It is said in the Svayambhū Purāṇa that Mañjuśrī hailed from China where he was living on mount Pañcaśīrṣa (the Hill of Five Peaks). He was a

\* Sukhāvati-Vyūha, p. 92 App. II.

† Ibid. Introduction. p. III, n. 4 (1).

‡ There is considerable difference of opinion as regards the divinity of Mañjuśrī mentioned by Fa-Hien. Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien p. 46.

§ An account of the story recorded in the Svayambhū Purāṇa with many details will be found in (1) R. Mitra; *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, pp. 249—258. (2) Hodgson's *Essays*, p. 115 ff. and (3) Oldfield: *Sketches from Nepal* Vol. II p. 185ff.

great saint with a good number of disciples and followers including the king of that country, Dharmākara by name. One day Mañjuśrī received divine intimation that the self-born Lord, Ādi-Buddha had manifested himself in the form of a flame of fire on a lotus rising from the Lake Kālihrada in Nepal. He forthwith started for Nepal to pay homage to the god and was accompanied by a large number of his disciples, his two wives and king Dharmākara of China. When he came to the lake he found the god inaccessible, being surrounded by the vast expanse of water. With great difficulty he approached the flame of fire and paid his homage. Then he cast about in his mind how to make the god accessible, and began to go round the lake. He then with his sword cleft asunder the southern barrier of hills and the water rushed through that opening, leaving a vast stretch of dry land behind, which is known as the Nepal valley. Through that opening the water of the Bāghmati even now flows down and it is still called 'Koṭ-bār' or 'sword-cut.'

Mañjuśrī lost no time in erecting a temple consecrating the flame of fire, and very near to the temple on a hillock he made his own habitation. On the same hill he made a Vihāra (or monastery) still known as the Mañjupattana for his disciples. Lastly he made Dharmākara the king of Nepal. These and many other pious deeds are ascribed to Mañjuśrī in the Svayambhū Purāṇa. Putting everything in proper order Mañjuśrī returned home and soon obtained the divine form of a Bodhisattva, leaving his mundane body behind.

From the above it appears that Mañjuśrī was a great man who brought civilization to Nepal from China. He had extraordinary engineering skill and was a great architect. We are not sure when he came down to Nepal from China, but there is no doubt that in the fourth century A.D. he was well-known as a Bodhisattva. He wielded great influence on the minds of the Buddhists and the Mahāyānists worshipped him in various forms and various ways. He is known in almost all the countries in the continent of Asia where Buddhism made its way. Various countries conceived various forms of Mañjuśrī. But we are here concerned only with the images that are purely Indian and not with those that hail from outside the country.

We have already made it abundantly clear that the Buddhists believe their gods as emanating from one or the other of the Dhyāni Buddhas or four or five of them collectively. But it had not been possible to assign Mañjuśrī to one particular Dhyāni Buddha or to one particular group of the Dhyāni Buddhas. The reason is not far to seek. We have evidence that the list of the Five Dhyāni Buddhas was completed sometime after Śāntideva if not considerably later, though two or three of them were known prior to him. It is after Śāntideva that the priests of Vajrayāna conceived the idea that all gods should emanate from one or the other of the Dhyāni Buddhas or four

or five of them collectively, in the same way as Avalokiteśvara emanated from Amitābha.

Mañjuśrī was introduced into the Buddhist Pantheon long after Avalokiteśvara and nobody has any doubt as to his human personality. But Avalokiteśvara was an abstract idea, and never a man, and it is said that Amitābha in his anxiety to create caused a golden ray of light to appear from his head and in it originated the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.\* With Mañjuśrī the case is otherwise. He was regarded as a Bodhisattva in the same way as Āśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga and many others were regarded as Bodhisattvas in the time of Hiuen Tsang. But this is no reason why we should not regard Mañjuśrī as an emanation of any of the Dhyānī Buddhas. As a matter of fact, some considered him to be an emanation of Amitābha, others of Akṣobhya, still others of the group of the five Dhyānī Buddhas. Cases are, however, on record where Mañjuśrī is not affiliated to any of the Dhyānī Buddhas, i.e., in other words, regarded as independent.

Thirty-nine Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā are devoted to the worship of Mañjuśrī and forty dhyānas describe fourteen distinct forms of the Bodhisattva. In finding out the names of the different varieties, special stress has been laid on the mantras rather than on the colophons of the Sādhana. It should always be remembered that in determining the names of gods the mantras are the safest guide, especially when one deity has a great many forms. The fourteen varieties have each a different name e.g., Vāgīśvara, Mañjuvara, Mañjughoṣa, Arapacana, Siddhaikavīra, Vāk, Mañjukumāra, Vajrāṅga, Vādirāt, Nāmasaṅgīti, Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara, Sthiracakra, Mañjunātha and Mañjuvajra.

Ordinarily Mañjuśrī carries the Sword and the Book in his right and left hands. In representations we sometimes find these two symbols placed on lotuses. He is accompanied sometimes by Yamāri, or by his Śakti alone ; sometimes by Sudhanakumāra and Yamāri and sometimes again by the four divinities, Jālinikumāra also called Sūryyaprabha, Candraprabha, Keśinī and Upakeśinī. Though the last four are required to be present with Arapacana, they are found represented in other places also.

#### I. EMANATIONS OF AMITĀBHA.

The following two varieties of Mañjuśrī should bear the effigy of their sire Amitābha, one on the tongue and the other on the crown. The former is Vāk and the latter is Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara.

\* Getty : *Gods of the Northern Pantheon*, p. 54.

## 1. VĀK.

Mudrā—Samādhi.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.

Special characteristics—Ornaments and dress.

He is also known as Dharmasāṅkhasamādhi, Vajrarāga, and Amitābha-Mañjuśrī, and is one faced and two-armed. His two hands are joined in the lap forming the Dhyāna or Samādhi Mudrā. In this respect he is identical with his sire whom he bears on his tongue. But he may be distinguished by the ornaments he wears and by the image of his sire if represented on the crown. The Dhyāni Buddhas have no ornaments and being creators themselves they have no fathers. Images of this form of Mañjuśrī are extremely rare in India with the exception of the one at the temple of Baudhanath in Nepal. The accompanying sketch (Plate XIIIc) gives an idea of what Vāk is like. The Sādhnamālā has the following Dhyāna :—

“Dvibhujaikamukhaṃ sitaṃ vajraparyāṅkopari samādhimudrāhastam aśeṣakumārābharaṇabhūṣitaṃ pañcacirakam Mañjuśrībhaṭṭārakam . . . . . niṣpādyā . . . vajrajihvopari Buddham Amitābham vicintya . . . . . Om Vākyedannamaḥ iti japamantraḥ.”

Vāksādhnam ” Sādhnamālā, A-68, N-51.\*

“The worshipper should meditate on himself the form of Mañjuśrī Bhaṭṭāraka, who is two-armed and one-faced, has white complexion ; whose hands are joined in forming the Samādhimudra ; who is decked in all princely ornaments, wears the five pieces of monkish garments . . . thus meditating . . . he should conceive the figure of Buddha Amitābha on the adamantine tongue . . . . . “Om Vākyedannamaḥ ” is the mantra for muttering.

## DHARMADHĀTU VĀGĪŚVARA.

Faces—Four.

Hands—Eight.

Āsana—Lalita.

The images of Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara are by no means common either in stone or in bronze. The Citrakāras in Nepal, however, do even now prepare paintings of this god. When represented he is of white complexion, has four faces and eight arms, and bears the five jewels on his tiara ; he is clad in celestial garments and displays amorous sentiment. The two principal hands carry the bow and the arrow, the second pair the noose and the goad, the third the book and the sword, and the fourth, the Ghaṇṭā and the Vajra. He may have another form † exhibiting the Dharmacakra Mudrā in the first pair instead of the bow and the arrow, and in the second pair the arrow and the vessel

\* Omitted in C.

† See Foucher : *L'Iconographie Bouddhique* II, 47 lines 1—5. This form bears the images of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown.



*b. Vajrasattva  
(Nepal).*



*c. Vajrasattva Yab-yum  
(Nepal).*



*a. Ratnasambhava  
(Nepal).*



*d. Vajrasattva Yab-yum  
(Side View).*



*e. Vajrasattva Yab-yum  
(Back View).*





a. Vajradhātviśvarī.



c. Māmākī.



b. Locanā.



d. Pāṇḍarā.



a. Āryatārā



b. Sāmantabhadra  
(Nepal).



c. Vajrapāṇi  
(Nepal).



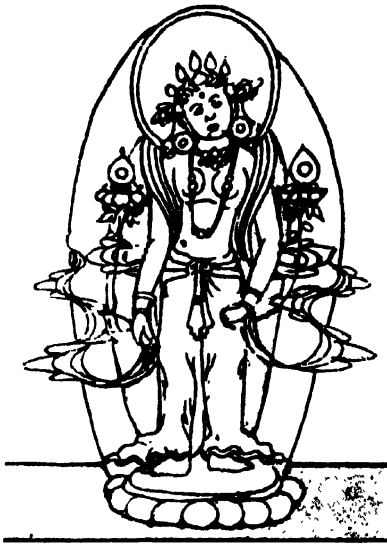
d. Ratnapāṇi  
(Nepal).



e. Padmapāṇi  
(Nepal).



f. Viśvapāṇi  
(Nepal).



a. Sāmantabhadra



b. Vajrapāṇi  
(Indian Museum).



c. Vajrapāṇi  
(Nalanda).



d. Seven Mortal Buddhas with Maitreya  
(Indian Museum).



*a. Vajrasana.  
(Indian Museum)*



*b. Maitreya.*



*c. Vāk or Vajrāṅga Mañjuśrī.*



*d. Siddhaikavīra.  
(Sarnath)*



a. Nāmasaṅgīti Mañjuśrī.



b. Nāmasaṅgīti Mañjuśrī (?)  
(Nepal)



c. Vajrāṅga Mañjuśrī.



d. Mahārājalīla Mañjuśrī.  
(Indian Museum)



*a. Vajravaraha.  
(Nepal)*



*b. Mañjuvara.  
(Nalanda)*



*c. Mañjuvara.  
(Indian Museum)*



*d. Mañjuvara.  
(Birbhum)*



a. Mañjuvara.  
(Indian Museum)



b. Dharmacakra Mañjuśrī.  
(Nepal)



c. Mañjukumāra.



d. Arapacana Mañjuśrī.  
(Nepal)

instead of the noose and the goad. The Dhyāna describing the former is given below :—

“ ....Aṣṭabhujaṃ caturmukhaṃ mūlamukhaṃ raktagauram dakṣiṇam  
kumkumārūṇam paścimaṃ padmaraktaṃ, uttaram pitaraktaṃ, dvābhyāṃ  
hastābhyāṃ dhanurbāṇadharaṃ, aparābhyāṃ pāsāṅkuśadharaṃ, punara-  
parābhyāṃ Prajñāpāramitāpustakakhaḍgadharaṃ, tathāparābhyāṃ ghaṇṭā-  
vajradharaṃ mahārāgasṅgārārasojjvalam lalitīsanasthaṃ viśvapadmacandre  
divyavastrābharaṇam Amitābhajātāmukutaṇam....

Dharmadhātuvāgīśvarasādhanaśyavidliḥ ”

Sādhana-mālā, A-67. N-51, C-51.

The worshipper should meditate in himself the form of [Dharma-  
dhātu-Vāgīśvara] who is eight-armed, four-faced, and of reddish white colour,  
with the right face of red colour, face to the West of lotus-red colour  
and the face to the North of yellowish-red colour ; who holds the bow and  
the arrow in one pair, the noose and the goad in another pair, the Prajñāpāra-  
mitā and the sword in another and the Ghaṇṭā and the Vajra in the remaining  
pair ; who is resplendent with intense sentiment of passion and sits on the  
moon on a double lotus in the Lalita attitude ; who is decked in celestial  
garments and ornaments and bears in his crown of elignon the effigy of  
Amitābha.... ”

## 11. EMANATIONS OF AKṢOBHYA.

No less than four varieties of Mañjuśrī are distinctly said to bear the  
images of Akṣobhya on their crown. Out of these four, Mañjughoṣa and  
Siddhaikavīra have four Sādhana each devoted to their worship. The third  
variety is known as Vajrāṅga to whom three Sādhana are ascribed, but  
is not known to have been represented either in stone or in bronze. Similar  
is the case with the fourth one, Nāmasaṅgī Mañjuśrī.

### MAÑJUGHOṢA.

Vāhana —Lion.

Mudrā—Vyākhyāna.

Characteristic Symbol—Lotus in the left.

Four Sādhana in the Sādhana-mālā describe the form of this variety  
of Mañjuśrī, which is known by the name of Mañjughoṣa. When represented  
he appears almost similar to Mañjuvara with the difference that the lotus here  
does not bear the book. It may also be pointed out that Mañjughoṣa should  
have the lotus only to his left, but Mañjuvara may have it on either side bearing  
the book. He has golden complexion, rides the lion and is decked in all sorts  
of ornaments. He is two-armed and displays the Vyākhyāna Mudrā, and to  
his left rises the lotus. He is sometimes accompanied by Yamāri in the left



and Sudhanakumāra in the right. The Dhyāna as given in one of the Sādhana is given below :—

....“ Mañjughoṣarūpaṃ ātmānaṃ paśyet śiṃhasthaṃ kanakagauravarṇaṃ sarvāṅkārabhūṣitaṃ Vyākhyānamudrāvyaṅgrakaraṃ vāmapārśve utpaladharaṃ Akṣobhyamukutaṇaṃ. Dakṣiṇe Sudhanakumāraṃ vāme Yamāntakaṃ paśyet....mantraṃ japet Om Vāgīśvara Muḥ \*.... ”

Sādhana-mālā, A-56-7, N-48, C-48.

The worshipper should meditate in himself the form of Mañjughoṣa who is seated on the lion ; whose colour is golden yellow ; who is decked in all ornaments ; whose hands are engaged in forming the Vyākhyāna Mudrā ; who has the Utpala in his left side and bears the image of Akṣobhya on the crown. To his right Sudhanakumāra and to the left Yamāntaka † should be conceived....the mantra Om Vāgīśvara Muḥ should be muttered.”

Some of the Sādhana mention that he should sit in Lalitāsana on the back of a lion, while others are silent about the particular pose. We may therefore, conclude that he may sit in other attitudes also, for instance the Vajraparyāṅka or the Ardhaparyāṅka attitudes. His colour is generally yellow, but he may have the colour of Kuṅkuma as well.

## 2. SIDDHAIKAVĪRĪ.

Colour—white (or) red.

Symbol—lotus.

Mudrā—Varada.

Special characteristic—figures of Akṣobhya and other Dhyānī Buddhas on crown.

Four Sādhana describe the form of Siddhaikavīra, and in one of the them he is said to bear the image of Akṣobhya on the crown (*Mauli*), and this fact naturally leads us to conclude that he is an offspring of Akṣobhya :—this seems to be more probable when we notice the small figure of the Dhyānī Buddha on the crown of the standing figure of Mañjuśrī (Plate XIIIId), in the Sarnath Museum. The same Sādhana again calls him ‘ Pañcavīrakaśekharah ’ which means the ‘bearing the five heroic ones (Dhyānī Buddhas) on the crown.’ This word, therefore, we venture to suggest has nothing to do with the god’s origin, but the Dhyānī Buddhas, excepting Akṣobhya have been used only as a part of the ornamentation which may or may not be used in actual representations.

\* The Mantra of Mañjughoṣa here is “ Om Vāgīśvara Muḥ,” but in other Sādhana it is “ Om Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara Muḥ.” Again, the variety of Mañjuśrī which has been named Vāgīśvara has uniformly the Mantra “ Om Vāgīśvara Muḥ.” As there is a great deal of difference between the forms of Vāgīśvara and Mañjughoṣa, we are inclined to think that the Mantra “ Om Vāgīśvara Muḥ ” in the case of Mañjughoṣa is a mistake for “ Om Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara Muḥ.”

† For details about the forms of Sudhanakumāra and Yamāntaka see Foucher : *L’Iconographie Bouddhique* II, p. 41.

When represented he carries the blue lotus in the left hand and exhibits the Varada Mudrā in the right. The Dhyāna describes his form in the following terms :—

Siddhaikavīro Bhagavān candramaṇḍalasthaḥ candropāśrayaḥ jagadudyotakārī dvibhujāḥ ekamukhaḥ śuklaḥ vajraparyāṅkī divyālaṅkāra-bhūṣitaḥ pañcavīrakaśekharaḥ...vāme nilotpalaḍharaḥ dakṣiṇe varadaḥ.... tato Bhagavato maulau Akṣobhyaṃ devatyāḥ \* pūjāṃ kurvanti.†

Sādhana-mālā, A-74, N-56, C-57.

“ The God Siddhaikavīra is on the orb of the moon, is the support of the moon, illumines the world, is two-armed, one-faced and of white complexion ; he sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude, is decked in celestial ornaments, bears the effigies of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown....and carries the Utpala in the left hand and exhibits the Varada pose in the right.... then the goddesses pay homage to Akṣobhya who is on the crown of the God.”

In another Sādhana the description of the Maṇḍala‡ for Mañjuśrī is given. The God in the form of Siddhaikavīra, painted red, is in the middle, and is accompanied by four divinities, Jālinīprabha, Candraprabha, Keśinī and Upakeśinī. These four goddesses more often accompany Arapaṇa, another form of Mañjuśrī, as we shall see later on ; but we must not forget that Keśinī and Upakeśinī both have equal rights to be represented by the side of their common husband, Mañjuśrī. The Sādhana's are not generally explicit as to the pose of the God, and we will not be surprised if he is found standing as in the Sarnath image.

A confusion is likely to take place between the forms of Lokanātha and Siddhaikavīra if they are both represented without companions and without the figure of the Dhyāni Buddha, Amitābha or Akṣobhya as the case may be, on their crown ; for both these worthies have the same symbol, the lotus and the same Mudrā, the Varada pose. In that case the image would generally be identified as Lokanātha, who, because of his being a variety of Avalokiteśvara, is represented widely. Images of Siddhaikavīra, we should add, are extremely rare.

### 3. VAJRĀNAGA.

Āsana—Pratyālīṭha.

Colour—yellow.

Hands—six or four.

The third variety bearing the image of Akṣobhya on the crown is known as Vajrānaga, who is worshipped in the Tāntric rite of Vaśikaraṇa or bewitching men and women. He is yellow in complexion, is in the fullness

\* A reads “devabhyaḥ.”

† A omits “kurvanti.”

‡ Mañjuśrī ( in the form of Siddhaikavīra ) should exhibit the Varada pose and carry the lotus ; Sūryyaprabha and Upakeśinī should hold the lotus and exhibit the Varada pose : Candraprabha and Keśinī should also have the same symbol and the same pose of hand. The four companions of Siddhaikavīra should resemble his replicas.

of youth, and bears the image of Akṣobhya on his Jaṭāmukuta. The two principal hands hold the fully expanded bow of flowers charged with an arrow of a lotus bud. The four remaining hands carry the sword and the looking-glass in the two right hands while the two left carry the lotus and the Aśoka bough with red flowers. In another Sādhana the Aśoka bough is replaced by Kaṅkelli flowers. He may have an alternative form with four hands,\* in which case the arms carrying the mirror and the Aśoka bough are dropped. The Dhyāna describing the six-armed variety of Vajrāṅga is given below :—

....“ Vajrāṅgaṃ Ārya-Maṇjughoṣaṃ pītavarṇaṃ saḍbhujam mūla-bhujābhyāṃ ākarnapūritaraktotpalakalikāśarayuktakusumadhanurdharaṃ ; dakṣiṇadvayena khadgadarpaṇabhṛtaṃ vāmayugalenendīvararaktāśokapallavadharaṃ ; Akṣobhyādhiṣṭhita jaṭāmukutaṇaṃ, pratyālīḍhapadaṇaṃ soḍa-savarśākāraṃ mahāśṛṅgāramūrtiṃ paśyet....”

Sādhana-mālā, A-61. N-49, C-49-50.

“....The worshipper should conceive himself as Ārya-Maṇjughoṣa in the form of Vajrāṅga with yellow complexion, and six arms : with the two principal hands he draws to the ear the bow of flowers charged with an arrow of a red lotus bud ; the two remaining hands to the right carry the sword and the mirror, while the two left hold the lotus and the Aśoka bough with red flowers ; he bears the image of Akṣobhya on his crown of elignon, stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, appears a youth of sixteen years, and displays the intense sentiment of passion....”

Vajrāṅga, as the name implies, is the Buddhist God of Love and is the prototype of the Hindu God Madana, in the Buddhist Pantheon. The flowery bow and the arrow of flowers are strikingly common to both. Besides these, unlike the Hindu Anaṅga, several other weapons are also attributed to the Buddhist God of Love and below is given an account of how he makes use of them.

It is written in the Sādhana-mālā that in the act of bewitching a woman, she should be imagined by the worshipper as being pierced by him in her bosom with the arrow of the lotus bud. The woman falls flat on the ground swooning. Seeing this the worshipper should conceive that she is bound down in her legs by the chain which is the bow. Then by the noose which is the lotus stalk, she is tied by the neck and is drawn to his side. Then he should think that he is striking her with the Aśoka bough, is frightening her with the sword, and subsequently she has only to be shown the looking-glass to be completely subdued. A short text is quoted below from the Sādhana in support of the statement.

Isuṇa tu kucham bidhvā aśokaistāḍayeddhṛdi ।  
Khadgena bhīṣayet sādhyāṃ darpaṇaṃ darsāyeta tataḥ ।

\* Text—“Athavā caturbhujam darpaṇāśokapallavadharaṃ dvibhujarahitaṃ dhyāyāt.”

Utpalena padam badhvā ākarṣayet suvihvalām (a) 11 \*

Unfortunately no image of this divinity has yet been discovered and it is, therefore, that we reproduce a drawing (Plate XIVc) from an ancient album, though it does not consistently follow all the details in the Sādhana.

#### 4. NĀMASAṆGĪTĪ MAÑJUŚRĪ.

Colour—reddish white.

Attitude—Vajraparyāṅka.

Faces—three.

Arms—four.

The fourth variety of Mañjuśrī with the effgy of the Dhyāni Buddha, Akṣobhya, on the crown is known as Nāmasaṅgīti Mañjuśrī, to whom only one Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā is assigned. In this Sādhana he is described as three-faced and four-armed, and as bearing the image of Akṣobhya on the crown. The first or the principal face is red, the second blue and the third white. Of his four hands the first pair holds the bow and the arrow and the second the Book and the Sword. He sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on the lotus. The Dhyāna describes him in the following terms :—

....“ Raktagauram padmacandropari † vajraparyāṅkaṇiṣaṇṇaḥ ; prathamamukhaṃ raktam, dakṣiṇam nīlam, vāme śuklam iti trimukhaṃ, hastacatuṣṭayena vathāyogaṃ Prajñākhaḍgadhanurbhāyoginam ratna-kirīṭinam dvātrīṣaḥ śaṅkṣaṇānuvyañjanavirājitam kumāram kumārābharaṇa-bhūṣitam ātmānam vibhāvya....‡ tadanu sarva-Tathāgatābhiṣekapūrvakam Akṣobhyamaulinam ātmānam vicintya.....

Ārya-Nāmasaṅgītisādhanaṃ samāptam.” Sādhanamālā, A-84, C-65 §.

....“ The worshipper should meditate on himself as Ārya-Nāmasaṅgīti, whose colour is reddish white, who sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on the moon over lotus. His principal face is red, the right blue and the left white, that is, three-faces ; in his four hands he carries the Prajñā [pāramitā], the sword, the bow and the arrow in proper fashion ; he wears a bejewelled crown and is endowed with the thirty-two major and eighty minor auspicious marks ; he appears a prince with princely ornaments.....then the worshipper after offering Abhiṣeka to all the Tathāgatas, should further meditate himself as bearing the effgy of Akṣobhya on the crown.”

We have not come across any image of this form of Mañjuśrī, and the illustration (Plate XIVa) is only a copy of a drawing in an ancient Nepalese album. The illustration in Plate XIVb with one face and four arms may represent this form of Mañjuśrī.

\* Sādhanamālā, fol. A-64, N-48, C-49.

† C. has paryāṅka.

‡ A, omits tadānu....vicintya.

§ Omitted in N.

## III. EMANATIONS OF THE FIVE DHYĀNI BUDDHAS.

Altogether four varieties of Mañjuśrī are said to bear the images of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on their crown, thereby suggesting that Mañjuśrī is a 'Pañcavīrakumāra' or the 'offspring of the five Victorious Ones,' i.e. the five Dhyāni Buddhas. Out of these four varieties excepting Vāgīśvara three others are rarely represented.

## 1. VĀGĪŚVARA.

Colour—red or yellow.  
Vāhana—lion.

Āsana—ardhaparyāṅka  
Symbol—utpala.

Vāgīśvara is a tutelary deity of the Nepalese Buddhists and is widely worshipped in Nepal; and his popularity is borne out by the fact that innumerable wheels of prayer in Nepalese temples bear in monumental Newari characters, the mantra, "Om Vāgīśvara Muḥ."

One of the Sādhanas describes him as having red complexion, as wearing all princely ornaments and as seated on a lion in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude. He carries the Utpala in his left hand and the right is displayed in an artistic attitude. He may have a yellow variety, which is known as the Mahārājā-lilā Mañjuśrī and the Dhyāna describing his form has already been quoted and translated by Professor Foucher.\* Let us now describe the form of the red variety of Vāgīśvara as given in the Dhyāna :—

.... "Pañcavīrakāśekharam kumāraṃ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitaṃ kuṅkumārūpaṃ vāmenotpalaṃ dakṣiṇena līlayā sthitaṃ śiṃhāsanaṣṭhaṃ ātmānaṃ kumārārūpeṇa cintayet.... Om Vāgīśvara Muḥ."

Sādhana-mālā, A-54, N-41, C-54.

".... The worshipper should meditate in himself the form of [ Vāgīśvara ] who bears the images of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown, appears a prince, is decked in all ornaments, has the complexion of Kuṅkuma; who carries the Utpala in the left hand while the right is displayed artistically; who has his seat on a lion, and appears a prince .... Om Vāgīśvara Muḥ."

The Indian Museum image (Plate XIVd) of this divinity carries a ghaṇṭā in the right hand and instead of sitting on the lion is represented as sitting on a lion throne. The other image in bronze (Plate XVa) is a recent one and represents the god a little differently.

\* In his *L'Iconographie Bouddhique*, part II, 43-44.

## 2. MAÑJUVARA.

Mudrā—Dharmacakra.

Vāhana—lion.

Attitude—Lalita or Ardhaparyāṅka.

Identification mark—Prajñāpāramitā on lotus.

Two Sādhana in the Sāadhanamālā describe the procedure of the worship of Mañjuvara, who is rather widely represented. He is yellow in complexion, sits on the back of a lion in the Lalita or in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude and displays the sentiment of passion. His two hands are joined over the breast forming the Dharmacakra Mudrā, as he eternally instructs the people in the secrets of Dharma; he holds the lotus or lotuses on which appears the Prajñāpāramitā Scripture. The text of the Dhyāna in one of the Sādhana is given below :—

....“Taptakāñcanābhaṃ pañcavīrakumāraṃ Dharmacakramudrāsa  
māyuktaṃ Prajñāpāramitānīlotpaladhāraṇaṃ śiṃhasthaṃ lalitākṣapaṃ  
sarvālaṅkārahūṣitaṃ....Om Mañjuvara Hum”

Sāadhanamālā. A-58, N-43-44, C-44.

....“The worshipper should meditate on himself the form of Mañjuvara, whose colour is the colour of molten gold, who is the offspring of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, whose hands display the Dharmacakra Mudrā, who carries the blue lotus with the Prajñāpāramitā (above), sits on a lion in the Lalita attitude, and is decked in all ornaments....Om Mañjuvara Hum.”

According to a second Sādhana, Mañjuvara should have the lotus under his left armpit with the Prajñāpāramitā on it; he may sit in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude and may be accompanied by the fierce God, Yamāntaka of blue colour with his distorted face terrible with bared fangs. The latter carries the staff in one hand and touches the leg of the principal god with another.

The image (Plate XVd)\* discovered at Bara in the District of Birbhum probably represents this form of Mañjuśrī with the miniature figures of the five Dhyāni Buddhas over head, and of the two divinities, one on either side. They probably represent Sudhana in the right and Yamāntaka in the left. Mañjuvara here displays the Dharmacakra Mudrā and bears, under his left armpit, the stem of the lotus on which appears the Prajñāpāramitā Scripture as required by the Sādhana. The lotus to the right has been sculptured simply to keep up the balance with the lotus to the left.

The lion-vehicle of Mañjuvara is sometimes absent and in later images, he may sit in the Paryāṅka and other attitudes, (Plate XVb).† The

\* This image was first identified as that of the Hindu goddess, Bhuvaneśvarī in the Birbhum Bibarana, then as that of Śiṃhanāda Lokeśvara (Vide—A. S. I. Eastern Circle, Annual Report, 1920-21, p. 27) and later on as that of Mañjuśrī (Vide—Ibid, Pl. I, fig. 2). As I have not personally examined the image I am not sure as to the sex of the figure. If it is a female figure we will have no other alternative than to identify the image as that of Prajñāpāramitā.

† A. S. I., Central Circle 1919-20. Pl. V (a).

lotus to the right, which is not expressly required by the Sādhana sometimes bears the book (Plate XVIa) and sometimes the sword in order to keep up the balance more precisely (Plate XVIb).\*

The Indian Museum image (Plate XVc) of Mañjuvara has on either side of him two female companions who represent no doubt the two wives of Mañjuśrī, Keśinī and Upakeśinī.

### 3. MAÑJUVAJRA.

Colour—red.

Faces—three.

Hands—six.

Companion—Prajñā.

The reason why Mañjuvajra is dealt with along with the other emanations of the five Dhyānī Buddhas is this. In the Sādhana describing the procedure of his worship we find a word, which means that Mañjuvajra “serves the three worlds, being created by the host of the resplendent Buddhas,”† apparently referring to the group of the five Tathāgatas, or the five Dhyānī Buddhas; for, in the Sādhanamālā the word, “Buddha” seldom refers to anything other than the five Dhyānī Buddhas.

The colour of his body including the principal face is red like Kuṅkuma, the second face is blue, and the third white. He has six arms, out of which the two principal ones are engaged in embracing his Śakti with one hand touching her face. The remaining four hands carry the sword and the arrow, and the bow and the Utpala. He sits in Vajrāsana or in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on the moon supported by the lotus. The Dhyāna is in verse and runs as follows :—

Kuṅkumārūṇasaṁmurtirñilasitatrayāṇanaḥ,  
Bhujadvayasamāśliṣṭa-Svābhā-Vidyādharaśyadhṛk.  
Khaḍgabāṇabhujāñcāpanīlotpalaparigrahaḥ,  
Viśvalalābja-candra-sthaḥ vajrāsanaśaśiprabhaḥ.

Sādhanamālā, A-86, Na-85, C-66.

His beautiful person is red like Kuṅkuma; he has three faces of [Kuṅkuma], blue and white colour, embraces his Svābhā Prajñā with two arms, of which one touches her face, carries the Khaḍga, the arrow, the bow and the blue Utpala, sits on the moon over a double lotus in Vajrāsana, and has the radiance of the moon.”

\* This bronze belongs to the collection of Pandit Siddhiharṣa of Nepal and the image is popularly known as Dharmacakra Mañjuśrī.

† The passage in which the word occurs is—

“Sphureḍ-Buddhaugha-nirmāṇa-prasādhita-jagattrayaḥ.  
Svatattvodbhava-cihnotīthaṁ Mañjuvajraḥ svayaṁ bhavet.”

## 4. MAÑJUKUMĀRA.

Colour—red.	Vāhana—animal.
Faces—three.	Arms—six.

One Sādhana only in the Sādhanamālā describes him as three-faced and six-armed, and as riding on an animal. In his three left hands he carries the Prajñāpāramitā, the Utpala and the bow, while the three right show the sword, the arrow and the Varada pose. The extract is given below :—

....“ Mañjukumāraṃ trimukhaṃ saḍbhujam kuṅkumaṇaṃ nila-sitadakṣiṇetaravadanaṃ sattvaparyāṅkinam Khadgabhāṇavaradaṃ dakṣiṇa-karatrayam, Prajñāpāramitāpustakanilotpalacāpavadvāmakaratrayam saś-ṛṅgārakumārābharaṇanivāsanādikaṃ nānāpuṣpamadhāśobhacīratrayavirājitaṃ Tathāgataparamānuparihaṭitaṃ \* ātmānaṃ dhyātvā....”

Sādhanamālā, A-79-80, N-61, C-61.

“ The worshipper should meditate in himself the form of Mañjukumāra, who is three-faced and six-armed, whose colour is the colour of Kuṅkuma, whose right and left faces have (respectively) the blue and white colour ; who has his seat on an animal : whose three right hands show the sword, the arrow and the Varada pose, while the three left carry the Prajñāpāramitā, blue Utpala and the bow ; who is decked in princely ornaments and dress as befitting the sentiment of passion he displays, wears the three Cīrakas, which are gaudily decorated with various kinds of flowers ; who is made of the particles of the Tathāgatas.... Thus meditating....”

It would be apparent from the translation why Mañjukumāra has been assigned to the five Dhyāni Buddhas : because his essence consists of the ‘paramāṇus’ or particles of the Tathāgatas meaning the five Dhyāni Buddhas. He is not known to us either in sculptures or in ancient paintings. The accompanying sketch (Plate XVIc), which has been restored from an ancestral album of a Vajrācāryya, however, gives a true idea of his form. The Vāhana, it may be noted, is absent in the drawing.

## IV. INDEPENDENT FORMS.

The reason why we get forms of Mañjuśrī without fathers or the Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown, is rather difficult to ascertain, nor are we entitled to attribute them to the omission of the authors or the compilers of the Sādhanas. For the worship of Arapacana alone, there are, in the Sādhanamālā as many as eight Sādhanas and in none of these there is any faint reference even as to the origin of the god. It cannot be a case of omission but is one of deliberate commission. What then is the reason of this silence as to the origin of several forms of Mañjuśrī described below ? The only reason we can adduce is a

\* A reads “paramāṇḍa.”



simple historical fact. We know Mañjuśrī was, in the fourth century, known as a distinguished Bodhisattva, when the conception of the five Dhyānī Buddhas was practically in the air, and at best the name of Amitābha only was in existence. But when the conception of the Dhyānī Buddhas and their emanations was established, some forms of Mañjuśrī, were assigned to Amitābha, some to Akṣobhya and a few to the group of the five Dhyānī Buddhas by the later Buddhists according to their cults and some were left as independent; and we shall not be surprised if an attempt is made in the sculptural art to assign the following four independent forms to any particular Dhyānī Buddha or a particular group of them.

### 1. ARAPACANA.

Colour—white, or red.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.

Companions—four.

Identification marks—Book against breast (vāme hṛdi grhītapustakam) and the brandishing sword in the right (dakṣiṇe udyatākhaḍḍakaram).

Eight Sādhana in the Sādhana-mālā describe the form of this divinity who is sometimes white and sometimes red. He sits always in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude, and when he sits on animal he is called Prajñācakra. He is accompanied by the four divinities, Keśinī, Upakeśinī, Candraprabha and Sūryyaprabha, and as the group originate from the five syllables, 'A,' 'B,' 'P,' 'C,' and 'N,' the principal god is called Arapacana. When represented the four companions of Arapacana resemble the principal god in all respects.

None of the forms of Mañjuśrī are so widely represented both in stone and in bronze as Arapacana, sometimes with the four companions (XVIIa) \* and sometimes without them (Plate XVII). In one (Plate XVII) of the sculptures, preserved in the Dacca Museum, we find the four Dhyānī Buddhas, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi (beside the usual four companions), sculptured on the aureole behind, the middle position at the top being occupied by one of the companion deities named Candraprabha resembling the principal god. The Nepal bronze (Plate XVIIc) does not carry the book against the breast but holds the stem of a lotus, which bears the book.

Arapacana is also called Sadyonubhava-Arapacana, or Sadyonubhava Mañjuśrī. He is resplendent like the full moon, has a smiling face, is decked with all princely ornaments, and sits on a double lotus in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude. He brandishes the sword in his right hand and carries the Prajñāpāramitā

\* First published and identified as Mañjuśrī in Grunwedel: *Buddhist Art in India* p. 199

† This bronze belongs to the collection of Pandit Siddhihārṣa of Kathmandu.

Book against the breast in the left. Jālinikumāra (or Sūryyaprabha) is in front of him, Candraprabha behind, Keśinī to the right and Upakeśinī to the left. All these four divinities are replicas of the principal god. The Dhyāna in one of the Sādhana describes the principal god in the following terms :—

....“ Khadgapustakadhāriṇaṃ ākuñcitapañcacīraṃ, raktavastrayugayutam śrṅgāraveśadhāriṇaṃ smitavikasitavadanaṃ śaśāṅkāntitulyaśobhaṃ viśvalakamalaṣṭhabaddhaparyāṅkaṃ Sadyonubhavārapacana rūpaṃ ātmānaṃ iksyeta.”

Sādhana-mālā, A-63, N-47-48, C-48.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as Sadyonubhava Arapacana, who carries the Khadga and the Book, wears the five cīrakas which are slightly folded, whose garments are of red colour, and befit the sentiment of passion he displays ; whose face is radiant with a smile, and whose splendour is like the splendour of the moon ; who sits on the double lotus in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude.... ”

This Sādhana further goes on to say that the principal god should originate from the first syllable “ A,” Jālinikumāra from the syllable “ R,” Candraprabha from “ P,” Keśinī from “ C” and Upakeśinī from “ N.” Mañjuśrī should be in the middle, Jālinikumāra in front, Candraprabha behind, Keśinī to the right and Upakeśinī to the left. All of them have white complexion and are identical with the principal god in appearance.\*

## 2. STHIRACAKRA.

Symbol—sword.

Mudrā—Varada.

Companion—Śakti.

The Sādhana for the worship of Sthiracakra has a remarkable feature unlike other Sādhana in the Sādhana-mālā, inasmuch as it does not give the Dhyāna at a stretch, but the information about his form is interspersed throughout the Sādhana, which is again in verse. From the information about his form, as gleaned from the Sādhana, it appears that, in one of his hands he carries the sword,† which spreading its rays destroys the darkness of ignorance, while the other in engaged in bestowing boons of all kinds,‡ or in other words, displays the Varada pose. His colour is white § and he is decked in garments of the colour of the bee : || he sits on the moon over a lotus, we know not in what what Āsana or attitude, and wears the Cīrakas which makes his body resplen-

\* The text is quoted - ādisvaraparīṇatam, ... Mañjughoṣam, ... tadagre ca Rephaṇam, ... Jālinikumāraṃ Bhagavadrūpaṃ paśyēt, tathā prāṇe tathaiṣa pañcamādyakṣareṇa Candraprabhaṃ dakṣiṇe tathaiṣa Cākāreṇa Keśinīm śtanabharavirājitaṃ nātharūpaṃ vāme copakeśinīm nakāreṇa tathaiṣa ca.” MSS. A-63, N-48, C-48.

† Bibhrāṇam karavālaṃ— MSS. A 46, N-35, C-34.

‡ Sarvākāraṇavaraprādānanipunaṃ— Ibid.

§ Prodyadgaṇaṇaḥastibimbavimalaṃ— Ibid.

|| Candrasthaṃ bhramarāṅgaḥāsuraṭarair-adbhāsuram cīrakaiḥ. Ibid.

dent. He wears princely ornaments and displays the sentiment of passionate love. He is accompanied by a female or Prajñā, who is beautiful, displays the sentiment of passionate love and laughs profusely.\*

We have not met with any representation of this form of Mañjuśrī, unless the Bangiya Sāhitya Pariṣad image † No. C (d) 8/16, (Plate XVIIId.) is indentified with this. The sculpture agrees in almost all the details with the description given above, except that here the sword appears on a lotus, the stem of which is held in the left hand of the God, while the right exhibits the Varada pose. He sits in Lalitāsana on the moon over lotus, and is accompanied by his Śakti, who according to the Indian custom, occupies a position to the left of her consort.

### 3. VĀDIRĀT.

Āsana—Ardhaparyāṅka.

Vāhana—Tiger.

Mudrā—Vyākhyāna.

This form of Mañjuśrī is rarely to be met with in stone or in bronze. One Sādhana only is devoted to the worship of this divinity to show that this form was not very popular amongst the Vajrayānists. Vādirāt is of medium height, neither very short nor very tall and appears a youth of sixteen years. He sits in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude with the left leg slightly raised, on the back of a tiger. He wears all ornaments and displays the Vyākhyāna Mudrā. The Dhyāna is in verse and describes the form of Vādirāt in the following terms :—

Svachchaṃ soḍaṣavatsarākṛtidharaṃ śārdḍūlaprsthasthitaṃ  
Vyākhyāvyākulapāṇipadmayugalaṃ vāmārdhaparyāṅkinaṃ ।  
Dīrghaṃ nāpi na cāpi kharvamasamaṃ saundaryarāśyāśrayaṃ  
Ratnasvarṇamaṇiprakāravividhālāṅkāramālākulaṃ ॥

...Sṛmad-Vādirātsādhanaṃ samāptaṃ. Kṛtiriyam Paṇḍita-śrī-Cintāmaṇi-Dattasya."

Sādhana-mālā, A-50. N-37, C-37.

Lālityaśrūgārarasābhirāmāṃ  
Vyajjṛmbhamānāmbūruhāsyaśaśmīṃ ।  
Vīraṃ kumārābharaṇaṃ dadhānaṃ  
dhyāyāt padam tasya samīhamānaḥ ॥ Ibid.

† This image has been identified as that of Mañjuśrī and described in the "Handbook to the Sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya Pariṣad" on page 33. The attitude or the "Āsana" of the God is clearly Lalitāsana, but it has been designated therein as the Sukhāsana Mudrā, in which the word 'mudrā' has been wrongly applied after 'Āsana.' It must be added that the word, 'Sukhāsana' is altogether unknown in the Sādhana-mālā. In the 'Handbook' unfortunately a confusion has been made all through between the Sukhāsana and the Lalitākṣepa attitudes. The author designates uniformly the Ardhaparyāṅka Āsana by the term Lalitākṣepa Mudrā and Lalitākṣepa by the Sukhāsana Mudrā. The figure of the Śakti in the image has been identified as that of Yamāntaka—an identification for which, I am afraid, it would be difficult to quote any authority.

“The worshipper should meditate on himself as [Vādirāt] who is beautiful (lit. pure or transparent), and appears a youth of sixteen years ; who sits on the back of a tiger ; whose lotus-like hands are eagerly engaged in displaying the Vyākhyāna Mudrā ; whose left leg is slightly raised in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude ; who is neither tall nor very short, is unparalleled by any, is the receptacle of all beauties in the world, and is decked in various ornaments consisting of jewels, gold, gems and other valuables....Here ends the Sādhana for Vādirāt. The author of this is Śrī Cintāraṇi Datta.”

#### 4. MAÑJUNĀTHA.

Faces—three.

Hands—six.

Like Mañjukumāra he is also endowed with three faces and six arms. He carries the Cakra, Vajra, Jewel, the lotus, and the sword.\* These five symbols are held in five hands but the dhyāna does not mention the symbol that should be carried in the sixth. It is therefore probable that the sixth remains empty.

Some of the varieties of Mañjuśrī bear such a close resemblance to Prajñāpāramitā that it is difficult sometimes to distinguish between them. The only point of difference is that one is male and the other female. The iconographer thinks his duty done if he can identify an image as that of Mañjuśrī. But what has been said before clearly indicates that Mañjuśrī has as many as fourteen varieties, and unless we can definitely mention the particular variety, the mere identification as Mañjuśrī would be altogether useless.

\* The extract is—“Vyutthāya Mañjunāthasya vahan garvam samāhitā  
.....trimukhaṃ saḍbhujam tathā  
‘akravajramanāratnapadmakhaḍgadharāyudham.”

## CHAPTER III.

### BODHISATTVA AVALOKITEŚVARA.

Avalokiteśvara is famous in the Mahāyāna Pantheon as a Bodhisattva emanating from the Dhyāni Buddha, Amitābha and his Śakti, Pāṇḍarā. As Amitābha and Pāṇḍarā are the presiding Dhyāni Buddha and Buddhaśakti of the present Kalpa (cycle) namely, Bhadrakalpa, Avalokiteśvara is said to be the Bodhisattva who covers the period between the disappearance of the Mortal Buddha, Śākyasiṃha and the advent of the Future Buddha, Maitreya. The Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha \* gives an account of his character, moral teachings and miracles. In it we find that he refused Nirvāṇa, until all creatures of the Universe were in possession of the Bodhi knowledge, and to that end he is still supposed to work and foster spiritual knowledge amongst his fellow creatures. One of the passages in Kāraṇḍavyūha † characterises him as taking the shape of all gods of all religions, nay even the shape of the father and mother,—in fact, the form of the worshipped of any and every worshipper, to whom he may impart knowledge. By a slow and gradual process the people and next the animals and other creatures would advance spiritually to obtain salvation. For all these reasons, Avalokiteśvara is characterised as the best of the Saṅgha, the Jewel of the Buddhist Church or Saṅgharatna.

The Sādhana-mālā gives altogether thirty-one Sādhana-s which describe Avalokiteśvara or Lokeśvara in a variety of different forms. Among these variations, a good many have been described, though partially, supported by quotations from original texts with their translations in French, by M. Foucher in his *Etude sur L'Iconographie Bouddhique de L'Inde*, parte 2, Chapter II, Section 1.

Besides all the eleven varieties mentioned in Prof. Foucher's work three more have been added in the author's paper entitled, "The Identification of

\* R. Mitra ; Skt. Bud. Lit. p. 95.

† Extracts from the text is quotes below—"Yāvat Avalokiteśvarasya dr̥gha-pratijñā na paripūrītā bhavanti sarvasattvāḥ sarvaduḥkhebhyaḥ parimokṣitāḥ, yāvat anuttarāyām saṃnyak sambodhau na pratiṣṭāpitā bhavanti...yena yena rūpeṇa vaineyāḥ sattvāḥ tena tena rūpeṇa dharmam deśayanti. Tathāgata vaineyānām Tathāgata rūpeṇa dharmam deśayanti...Maheśvara vaineyānām Maheśvara rūpeṇa dharmam deśayanti...Vāyuvaineyānām Vāyurūpeṇa dharmam deśayanti...Rājavaineyānām sattānām Rāja-rūpeṇa dharmam deśayanti...mātāpitrvaineyānām sattvānām mātāpitrvrūpeṇa dharmam deśayanti. Yathāyathā vaineyānām satvānām tathātathā rūpeṇa dharmam deśayanti." Kāraṇḍavyūha, pp. 21-22.

**Avalokiteśvara Images** " read before the Second Session of the Oriental Conference held in 1922 at Calcutta. For the sake of convenience, these two will also be dealt with here in their proper places. Paṇḍita Amṛtānanda's *Dharma-kośasamgraha* gives the description of another variety of Avalokiteśvara, which goes by the name of Sukhāvati Lokeśvara.\*

So the total number of variants goes up to fifteen, but it may surprise our readers to learn that the different forms of Avalokiteśvara are no less than one hundred and eight. The Macchandar Vahal, one of the numerous Vihāras in Kāthmandu has paintings in many colours of one hundred and eight variations of the Bodhisattva on wooden panels surrounding the temple on three sides. The paintings appear to be at least two hundred years old, and they bear inscriptions in old Newāri, giving their respective names. Clearly, in the point of antiquity, the discovery has a lesser importance than the ones we are dealing with at present, but as the overwhelming number of forms will no doubt throw a considerable amount of light on the Iconography of Avalokiteśvara, and thus facilitate identification, we do not hesitate to give a description of all these varieties, with the respective sketches, in the Appendix.†

Fourteen, out of the fifteen different varieties of Avalokiteśvara mentioned above, bear the figure of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha on the crown, showing that they emanate from the latter. The fifteenth, Vajradharma by name, is said to bear the figures of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown. Now, let us take up the varieties one after another. These will be dealt with in order of popularity, which, again, will be determined by the number of Sādhana devoted in the Sādhanamālā to their worship.

#### 1. ŚAḌAKṢARĪ-LOKEŚVARA.

Colour—white.

Arms—four.

Mudrā—Añjali.

Symbols—rosary and lotus.

Companions—Mañdhara and Śaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā.

Identification Symbol—the Añjali against the breast.

Four Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā are devoted to the worship of this form of Avalokiteśvara : two of them describe him in a group of three, one in a group of two in the company of Śaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā, and one singly. In all these, the form of Lokeśvara is the same. Below is quoted the Dhyāna of the Sādhana describing him in a group of three :—

....“*Ātmānaṃ Lokeśvararūpaṃ sarvālaṅkārabhūṣitaṃ śuklavarnaṃ vāmataḥ padmadharaṃ dakṣiṇato'kṣasūtradharaṃ aparābhyāṃ hastābhyāṃ*

\* See below, No. 14.

† See Appendix B.

hr̥di samputāñjalisthitam dhyāyāt. Dakṣiṇe Maṇidharaṃ tattadvarṇa\*-  
bhujānviṭam padmāntaroparistham. Vāme tathaiva aparapadmasthām †  
Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā....”

Sādhana-mālā, A-10, C-6, N-13-14.

....“The worshipper should realize himself as [Ṣaḍakṣarī]-Lokeśvara decked in all sorts of ornaments, white in colour, four-armed, carrying the lotus in the left hand and the rosary in the right. The other two hands join in forming the Mudrā of clasped hand against the breast. To his right is Maṇidhara with the same colour and the same hands, sitting on another lotus. To the left is Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā with identical form sitting on another lotus....”

The Dhyāna of this god has been restored from the Kāraṇḍavyūha, as one of the Coḷophons asserts.‡ The mantra assigned to this form of Avalokiteśvara is the famous “Om Maṇi-Padme Hum” consisting of six syllables. These six syllables are here deified in the form of Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā.

A perfect and perhaps unique image § (Plate XVIII, a) of this group of three deities hails from the Saṅghārāma of Sarnath, and is now preserved in the Sarnath Museum with the label bearing the inscription “Unidentified Group.” Mr. Oertel erroneously identified the group as the Tri-Ratna or the Three Jewels of the Buddhists,—Dharma, Buddha and Saṅgha.¶ In the group, Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara is in the middle; the figure to the right is Maṇidhara and the female figure to the left is Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā. It may be noticed that under the seats of lotuses are four miniatures, who represent none but the four guardians of the gates of the Ṣaḍakṣarī Maṇḍala, as prescribed in the Kāraṇḍavyūha.¶

Another artistic but mutilated image (Plate XVIII, b) of the Ṣaḍakṣarī group, which was discovered in Magadha by Waddell and illustrated on Plate II (2) with his article (J. R. A. S. 1894), depicts the goddess in what is called the Virāsana. Waddell calls the central figure as “Caturbhuj Lokeswara” and Ṣaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā as the “Mother of Six Syllables.”\*\* As he proceeded to make the identification through Tibetan he missed their actual Sanskrit names. The image is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The other image †† (Plate XVIII, c) found in the District of Birbhum by Mr. K. N. Dīkṣit, is also of the Ṣaḍakṣarī group, though it is mutilated

\* A reads ‘tadvarṇa’.

† ‘Apara’ is dropped in A.

‡ Kāraṇḍavyūhāmnāyena racitam sādhanam.

§ Sarnath Catalogue, No. B (c) 6. Pl. XIV (b).

¶ Sarnath Catalogue, p. 137.

¶ Kāraṇḍavyūha, p. 74—“tasya ca maṇḍalasya caturdvāreṣu catvāro mahārājāḥ kartavyāḥ”.

\*\* J. R. A. S. 1894, Pl. II (2).

†† Described in A. S. I. Eastern Circle, Annual Report 1920-21, p. 27 and illustrated in Pl. I (2).

practically beyond recognition. The central figure depicting Śaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara has lost two hands bearing the rosary and the lotus at some iconoclastic hand, but the marks are still there on the stone. The two hands exhibiting the Añjali (wrongly stated as Namaḥkāra) Mudrā contains the jewel.

Images of the Śaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara, both in groups and singly, abound in Nepal and almost every monastery at Kathmandu and Patan has got one in it. As far as is known to us, the only coloured image (Plate XIX, a) of this divinity appears in the Bauddhanātha Temple, one of the most famous places of pilgrimage of the Buddhists in Nepal.

When he appears in the group of two, according to the Sādhnamālā, the goddess may have another form depicting her in Virāsana, with yellow complexion and a bejewelled crown. In this case she has two hands only, of which the left holds the jewel, while the right is empty.\* The Sarnath Museum image B (f) 4. (Plate XIX, b), though mutilated hopelessly must represent this form of Śaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā, and she can be readily recognized by the peculiar Āsana, which is absolutely rare in Buddhist Iconography.

Another alternative is also prescribed in the Sādhnamālā for all the three deities, and the Sādhana goes on to say—"Sometimes in the Sādhana of Śaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā, Lokeśvara holds also the lotus bearing the jewel and the book. Maṇidhara may hold the jewel and the lotus and be without the book. Śaḍakṣarī may hold the book and the lotus and be without the jewel."†

## 2. SIMHANĀDA.

Colour—white.

Āsana—Mahārājallā.

Vāhana—lion.

Special Characteristics—no ornaments.

Identification marks— (i) left—sword on lotus.  
(ii) right—Trisūla entwined by a snake.

Four Sādhana's also are devoted to the worship of Simhanāda, who is regarded by the Mahāyānists as the curer of all diseases. He is one of the most popular forms of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and his images are by

\* The text has—

"Āryāntu cintayet pitām vāme ratnacchaṭṭabhṛtām  
Rikta-savyakarām ratnamaulīm vīṣanāṅgām."

"Ityārya-Śaḍakṣarīmahāvidyā-Lokeśvara-Bhaṭṭārakopadeśa-paramparāyātasādhana-vidhiḥ." Sādhnamālā A—21, C—11, N—17.

† Sādhnamālā, A—21, C—11, N—17. "Kvaciḥ śaḍakṣarīsādhane Bhagavān samāpustakāṅkitapadmadharaḥ Maṇidharastu pustakarahita-manipadmadharaḥ, Śaḍakṣarī tu maṇirahita pustakapadmadharaḥ."



no means rare in India. At Patan, in Nepal, all the more important Vihāras have two images of Siṃhanāda, either in stone or in bronze, on either side of the staircase leading to the sanctum. He appears in many forms with very slight differences. The four Sādhanaś alike describe him as follows :—

“ Ātmānaṃ Siṃhanāda-Lokeśvararūpaṃ bhāvayet, śvetavarṇṇaṃ trinetraṃ jaṭāmukuṭinaṃ nirbhūṣaṇaṃ\* vyāghracarma-prābhṛtaṃ siṃhāsanaśthaṃ mahārājāḷilāṃ candrāśanaṃ† candraprabhaṃ bhāvayet. Dakṣiṇe śitaphaṇiveṣṭitaṃ triśūlaṃ śvetaṃ, vāme nānāsugandhikuśumapariṇṛita-padmabhājanaṃ. Vāmāśtāt‡ utthaṃ padmopari jvalatkhaḍgaṃ.”

Sādhanaśālā, A-35, C-23, N-25.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as Siṃhanāda Lokeśvara of white complexion, with three eyes, with the crown of chignon, having no ornaments, clad in tiger-skin, mounted on a lion in the attitude of princely ease, seated on and glowing like the moon. To his right is the white trident entwined by a white serpent; to his left is the lotus-bowl full of fragrant flowers. From his left hand rises the (white) lotus on which is the fiery (white) sword.”

Generally, in the images of Siṃhanāda, the bowl of flowers to his left is absent (Plate XIX, c) § and in very rare cases the trident also. Sometimes the trident is held in his right hand ||. The pose in which he sits is here called the Mahārājāḷilā pose, which is another name for the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude; but in representations, he may sit in the Paryāṅka attitude also (Plate XIX, d),—or is even found in a standing attitude (Plate XIX, e). The lion, which is found in almost all the images, may also be absent in bronzes (Plate XX, a). ¶ The fact that Siṃhanāda wears no ornaments is very important because this distinguishes him from some of the varieties of Mañjuśrī. The artistic specimen of Siṃhanāda (Plate XX, b) discovered at Mahoba and described by Mr. K. N. Dikṣit\*\* carries a rosary in his right hand. None of the Sādhanaś in the Sādhanaśālā refers to the rosary, but some of the Tibetan specimens have got it.

### 3. KHASARPAṆA.

Colour—white.

Symbol—lotus.

Mudrā—Varada.

Āsana—Lalita or Ardhaparyāṅka.

Companions—Tāra, Sudhanaśumāra, Bhṛkuṭī, Hayagrīva.

Khasarpaṇa also is described in a number of Sādhanaś in the Sādhanaśālā, which fact points to his popularity amongst the Mahāyānist. Many

\* C reads ‘vibhūṣaṇaṃ’.

† dropped in A.

‡ N reads ‘upasthitaṃ’.

§ J. R. A. S. 1894, Pl. I.

|| As in the standing image from Patan, Pl. XIX, e.

¶ This bronze belongs to Paṇḍit Siddhiharṇa’s collection.

\*\* K. N. Dikṣit: “ Six sculptures from Mahoba ” in the A. S. I. Memoir No. 8, pl. Ia. p. 2.

images of this variety of Lokeśvara have been discovered and many Museums possess one. The peculiar feature of this god is that he is invariably accompanied by the four divinities, Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭi and Hayagrīva. The principal figure is the same as Lokanātha, two-armed and one-faced, carrying the same symbol and exhibiting the same Mudrā. The difference is that Lokanātha may be flanked by two divinities, Tārā and Hayagrīva, whereas Khasarpaṇa must be accompanied by two more, Bhṛkuṭi and Sudhanakumāra. He is of white complexion and sits, either in Lalitāsana or the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude. Below is given a somewhat lengthy Dhyāna describing the god :—

“*Ātmānaṃ Bhagavantaṃ dhyāyāt himakarakoṭikiraṇāvādātaṃ dehaṃ, ūrujaṭāmukutaṃ Amitābhakṛtasekharaṃ, viśvanalinaniṣaṇṇaṃ śaśimaṇḍale. ardhaparyāṅkaniṣaṇṇaṃ sakalālankāradharavigrahaṃ smeramukhaṃ divi-  
raṣṭavarsadeśīyaṃ dakṣiṇe varadakaram. vāmakareṇa sanālakamaladharaṃ,  
karavigalatpiyūṣadhārābhyaṃvalāharasikaṃ tadadhaḥ samāropitordhvamukhaṃ  
mahākukṣiṃ atikṛṣaṃ atīṣitivarṇaṃ Sūcimukhaṃ tarppayantaṃ śrīmat-  
Potalakācalodaranivāsinaṃ karuṇāsnigdhaśvalokaṇaṃ sṛṅgārarasaparyupā-  
sitaṃ atīśantaṃ nānālakṣaṇālankṛtaṃ.*

Tasya purataḥ Tārā dakṣiṇapārśve Sudhanakumāraḥ.

Tatra Tārā śyāmā, vāmakaravidhṛtaṃ sanālaṃ utpalaṃ dakṣiṇakareṇa vikāśayanti ; nānālankāravatī abhinavayauvanodbhinnakucabhārā.

Sudhanakumāraśca kṛtāñjalipuṭaḥ kanakāvabhāsadyutiḥ kumārārū-  
padhārī vāmakakṣavinyastapustakaḥ sakalālankāravān.

Pāścime Bhṛkuṭi Hayagrīva uttare.

Tatra Bhṛkuṭi caturbhujā hemaprabhā jaṭakalāpini, vāme tridaṇḍi-  
kamaṇḍaludhārihastā dakṣiṇe vandanābhīnayākṣasūtradharakarā, trinecrā.

Hayagrīvo raktavarṇṇaḥ kharvalambodaraḥ ūrdhvajvalat-piṅgala-  
keśaḥ bhujagayajñopavitī kapilataśmaśruśrenīparicitamukhamāṇḍalaḥ rak-  
tavartulatrinetraḥ bhṛkuṭikuṭilabhrūkaḥ vyāghracarmāmbaraḥ daṇḍāyu-  
dhaḥ dakṣiṇakareṇa vandanābhīnayaī.

Ete sarva eva svanāyakananapriritadṛṣṭayo yathāśobhaṃ avasthitāḥ  
cintanīyāḥ....

Iti Khasarpaṇasādhanaṃ”. Sādhanaṃālā, A-23, C-12-18, N-19.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as the god [Khasarpaṇa]. His person is as resplendent as the rays of a crore of moons ; he wears the crown, of chignon, bears the image of Amitābha on head, and sits on the moon over the double lotus in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude ; his body is decked in all ornaments ; he has a smiling face, is aged about twice eight years, exhibits the Varada pose in the right hand and holds the lotus with a stem in the left ; he is expert in bestowing the stream of nectar that flows from his hand, while Sūcimukha who stands below with an uplifted face, a protruding belly and very pale appearance receives the same. [Khasarpaṇa] resides in the womb of the mount Potalaka ; looks beautiful with compassion, is full of the sentiment of passion, is extremely peaceful and endowed with various auspicious marks.

“Before him is Tārā and to the right is Sudhanakumāra.

“Here Tārā is green ; she causes to blossom with her right hand the

lotus flower with a stem held in her left ; she has many ornaments and is oppressed by her breasts caused by her recent youth.

"Sudhanakumāra, again, has his two hands joined (añjali), is resplendent like gold, has the appearance of a prince ; he carries the book under his left armpit and is decked in all ornaments.

"To the West of the God is Bhṛkuṭī and to the North, Hayagrīva.

"Here Bhṛkuṭī has four arms, is resplendent like gold, has matted hair, carries the staff with three horns and the Kamaṇḍalu in the left, and in the right, [one is raised] in the attitude of bowing and [the other] carries the rosary ; she has three eyes.

"Hayagrīva has red complexion, is short, with a protruding belly ; his hair rises upwards in the shape of a flame, he has a snake as his sacred thread ; his face is recognized by a deep brown pair of moustaches ; his eyes are red and round ; his eye-brows are distorted in the act of frowning ; he is clad in tiger-skin, has the staff as a weapon and his right hand exhibits the act of bowing.

"All these deities should be meditated as situated in a befitting and artistic manner with their eyes directed towards the face of the principal deity."

Here ends the Sādhana for Khasarpaṇa."

The finest image (Plate XXI) \* of Khasarpaṇa has recently been discovered by Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭasālī in the Parganna of Vikrampur in Eastern Bengal. The sculpture is one of the best products of the Bengal School of art, and will do credit to any art, ancient or modern.

If the central image is mutilated like the one reproduced in Plate XX, c, we would still be able identify Khasarpaṇa by noticing the four companions to the right and left of the God.

#### 4. LOKANĀTHA.

Colour—white.

Symbol—lotus.

Mudrā—Varada.

Four Sādhana, again, are devoted to the worship of the Lokanātha variety of Avalokiteśvara. He is single in three Sādhana, and only one Sādhana describes him as accompanied by Tārā and Hayagrīva. The same Sādhana, in one of the Asiatic Society Manuscripts of Sāadhanamālā adds further that Lokanātha should be accompanied also by the eight gods, Maitreya, Kṣiti-garbha, Vajrapāṇī, Khagarbha, Viṣkambhin, Sāmantabhadra, Mañjughoṣa and Gaganagaṇja ; by the four goddesses, Dhūpā, Puṣpā, Gandhā, Dīpā ; and

\* I am obliged to Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭasālī for allowing me to take a copy of his negative for reproduction.

by the four guardians of the gates, Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajrapāśī, Vajrasphoṭā and Vajraghaṇṭā. In other words, the manuscript gives the constitution of the whole Maṇḍala of Lokanātha. The principal god has two hands, which carry the lotus in the left and exhibit the Varada pose in the right,—exactly like Khasarpaṇa, previously described. Let us, therefore, take up the Sādhana which gives the description of the Maṇḍala. It is in verse and thus describes the principal god :—

“ Pūrvavat kramayogena Lokanāthaṃ śaśiprabhaṃ ।  
Hrīhkāṛākṣarasambhūtaṃ jaṭāmukutaṃamāṇḍitaṃ ॥  
Vajradharma-jaṭāntaḥsthaṃ aśṣaroganāśanaṃ ।  
Varadaṃ dākṣiṇe haste vāme padmadharaṃ tathā ॥  
Lalitākṣepasaṃsthantu mahāsaumyaṃ prabhāsvaram ।  
Varadotpalakā saumyā Tārā dākṣiṇataḥ sthitā ॥  
Vandanādaṇḍahastantu Hayagrīvotha vāmataḥ ।  
Raktavarṇo mahāraudro vyāghracarmāmbarapriyaḥ ॥”

Sādhanaṃālā, A-28, N-28, C-17.

“ Following the same procedure as before, the worshipper should conceive himself as Lokanātha, resplendent like the moon, as springing from the sacred syllable “ Hriḥ ” and wearing the crown of chignon.

“ He has within his matted hair the figure of the god, Vajradharma,\* is the destroyer of all diseases, exhibits the Varada Mudrā in the right hand and carries the lotus in the left.

“ He sits in the Lalita attitude, is peaceful and resplendent ; to his right is Tārā, who has a peaceful appearance, exhibits the Varada Mudrā and carries the lotus.

“ To the left is Hayagrīva, who exhibits the act of bowing, and carries the staff in his two hands ; who has red complexion, appears terrible and is fond of the garment of tiger-skin.”

The Dhyāna in all MSS. goes thus far and no farther, except in the Asiatic Society manuscript already referred to, which gives the details of how the Maṇḍala for the worship of Lokanātha should be constituted. The Ms. A adds further :—

“ Tadvarataḥkāṣṭhale padme Maitreyādi vinyaset ।  
Maitreyaḥ pītavarṇaśca nāgapuṣpavarapradaḥ ॥  
Kṣitigarbhaḥ śyāmavarṇaḥ kalasam cābhayaṃ tathā ।  
Vajrapāñiśca śuklābhaṃ vajrahastavarapradaḥ ॥  
Khagarbho nabhaśyāmābho cintāmaṇivarapradaḥ ।  
Mañjughoṣo kanakābhaḥ khaḍgapustakadhāriṇaḥ ॥  
Gaganagañjo raktavarṇaḥ nilotpalavarapradaḥ ।  
Viṣkambhī tu kṣāravārṇaḥ ratnottamavarapradaḥ ॥  
Sāmantabhadraḥ pītābhaḥ ratnotpalavarapradaḥ ।  
Dhūpādicaturddevī ca Vajrāṅkuśyādidvāragāḥ ॥  
Varṇāyudhayathāpurvaḥ maṇḍalasyānusārataḥ ।  
Evaṃ vidheh samāyuktaṃ Lokanāthaṃ prabhāvayet ॥”

Sādhanaṃālā, A-28.†

\* Vajradharma here stands for Amitābha.

† Wanting in all other Mss.

“ On the eight petals of the lotus (on which the god sits) should be placed the gods Maitreya and others. Maitreya is of yellow complexion, carries the Nāga[keśara] flower and exhibits the boon pose. Kṣitigarbha has green complexion, carries the Kalaśa and exhibits the Abhaya pose. Vajrapāṇi is whitish in complexion, carries the Vajra and exhibits the Varada Mudrā. Khagarbha has the colour of the blue sky, carries the Cintāmaṇi and exhibits the Varada Mudrā. Mañjuḥśa is of golden complexion and carries in his two hands the sword and the book. Gaganagaṇja is of red colour, carries the lotus and exhibits the Varada Mudrā. Viṣkambhin is ash-coloured, carries the best jewel and exhibits the Varada Mudrā. Sāmantabhadra is yellowish in complexion, carries the jewel on a lotus and exhibits the Varada Mudrā. The four goddesses Dhūpā and others [accompany Lokanātha] and the [four goddesses] Vajrāṅkuśī and others guard the gates, their colour and weapons being in accordance with the Maṇḍala. In this way Lokanātha should be conceived by the worshipper.”

When represented, Lokanātha is generally alone and is occasionally accompanied by Tārā and Hayagrīva. But we have never come across an image in which all the surrounding deities, Maitreya and others, are represented. He may sit in three attitudes according to three different Sādhana; he may have the Lalita, the Paryāṅka or the Vajraparyāṅka attitudes. In the fourth the Āsana is not mentioned, and it is for this reason that we get images of Lokanātha in Ardhaparyāṅka (Plate XX, d) or even in a standing attitude (Plate XXIIa) as well. The standing image reproduced is of pure ivory and has silver foliage behind it.\* The Sarnath image reproduced on Plate XXII, b represents the earliest image of Lokanātha with the miniature figure of Amitābha on the crown.

##### 5. HĀLĀHALA.

Colour—white.

Faces—three.

Hands—six.

Companion—Prajñā.

Three Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā are devoted to the worship of Hālāhala Lokeśvara. Images of this divinity are rarely to be met with in India. But in Nepāl we have been able to find some, though they do not strictly follow the Sādhana. The distinguishing feature of Hālāhala is that he is generally accompanied by his Śakti or the female energy whom he carries in his lap. The Sādhana all enjoin the presence of the Śakti, though at least two images, one in stone, (Plate XXII, c) another in bronze, have been discovered in Nepal, where the god has been represented alone. According to the Sādhana, the god should be seated, but the two images

\* It belongs to a wealthy Newāri merchant of Kāthmāṇḍu and I had access to it through the influence of Paṇḍita Siddhiharṣa Vajracāryya.

above referred to represent him in a standing attitude. The Dhyāna contained in one of the Sādhana runs as follows :—

“ Hriḥkāraṇiṣpannam Hālāhalaṃ mahākṛpam ।  
 Trinetrāṃ trimukhaṃ chaiva jaṭānukūṭamaṇḍitaṃ ॥  
 Prathamāsyam sītāṃ nilam dakṣiṇam vāmalohitaṃ ।  
 Śaśāṅkārdhadharaṃ mūrdhni kapālakṛtasekharaṃ ॥  
 Jaṭāntaḥsthajinaṃ sanyak sarvābharaṇabhūṣitaṃ ।  
 Sītāravindanirbhāsam śṛṅgāraraśasundaraṃ ॥  
 Śaḍbhujam smeravaktraṇca vyāghracarmāmbharapriyaṃ ।  
 Varadaṃ dakṣiṇe pāṇau dvitiye cākṣamālikāṃ ॥  
 Tṛitiye śaranārttanam vāme cāpadharaṃ tathā ।  
 Dvitiye sitapadmaṇca tṛitiye stanameva ca ॥

Vāmajānūṇā sītāṃ Svābhadevīm dadhānam ; vāmena kamaladharāṃ dakṣiṇena bhujena Bhagavadāliṅganaparāṃ kusumaśobhitaḥjaṭākalāpāṃ. Dakṣiṇe pārśve sarpaveṣṭitaṃ triśūlaṃ, vāmapārśve padmasthakapālaṃ nānāsugandhikusumaiḥ sampūrṇam. Raktapadmacandre lilākṣepasthitaṃ bhāvayet.”

Sādhana-mālā, A-37, N-26, C-25.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as Hālāhala, the great compassionate, originating from the sacred syllable ‘Hriḥ,’ with three eyes, three faces and his matted hair rising upwards in the shape of a crown. The first (or the principal) face is white, the right blue and the left red. He bears on his head the crescent and the Kapāla. The Jina Amitābha is within his chignon and he is decked in all ornaments. He is resplendent like the white lotus and appears beautiful by the sentiment of passionate love he displays. He has six arms, a smiling face and is fond of garments of tiger-skin. He displays the Varada Mudrā in the first right hand, the second has the rosary, while the third flourishes the arrow. The first left hand carries the bow, the second the white lotus and the third touches the breast (of his Śakti). He carries the Śakti of his own emanation on the left lap. She shows the lotus in the left hand and the right is engaged in the act of embracing the god. Her chignon is decorated with flowers. To their right is the Triśūla entwined by a snake and on the left is the Kapāla on the lotus, full of a variety of fragrant flowers. The god sits in the Lalita attitude on the red lotus.”

#### 6. PADMANARTTEŚVARA.

(I)

Face—one.                      Arms—eighteen.                      Symbol—lotus.  
 Āsana—Ardhaparyāṅka (in a dancing attitude).  
 Identification mark—Double lotus in all hands.

Three Sādhana in the Sādhana-mālā are also devoted to the worship of this variant of Avalokiteśvara. But the three Sādhana are entirely different, describing three widely different forms of the deity. It is therefore necessary that all the three Dhyānas should be quoted and translated. There is no difficulty in taking the three to be Padmanartteśvara because all doubt is set

at rest by the fact that the mantras, where mentioned, are the same and that the Sādhana always designate him as Padmanartteśvara.

Images of Padmanartteśvara are extremely rare even in Nepāl. So far as is known to us, only one image (XXII, e) of this divinity has up till now been discovered. It follows the Dhyāna given below :—

“ Padmanartteśvarānnāyena Ārya-Avalokiteśvara-Bhaṭṭārakaṃ ātmānaṃ vibhāvayet ekamukhaṃ aṣṭāśaśabhujaṃ ardhaparyāṅkinaṃ Amitābhajātājūṭamaṇḍalaṃ sarvakarāṇi viśvapadmādhāriṇaṃ, yoginīṇḍaparivṛtaṃ dakṣiṇavāmaparśvasthita-Tārā-Sudhana-Bhṛkuṭi-Hayagrīvaṃ divyālaṃkāravastrabhūṣaṇaṃ....”

Sādhana-mālā, A-30, N-28, C-27.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as Bhaṭṭāraka Avalokiteśvara in the form of Padmanartteśvara, who is one-faced and eighteen-armed, who stands in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude, on whose crown of chignon is the effigy of Amitābha, who carries the double lotus in all his (eighteen) hands ; who is surrounded by a host of Yoginīs ; whose right and left sides are occupied by Tārā, Sudhana, Bhṛkuṭi and Hayagrīva ; and who is decked in all kinds of ornaments....”

The Āsana that is prescribed in the Sādhana, we may notice, is the Ardhaparyāṅka. This Āsana may have two varieties ; the ordinary, which is also called the Mahārājājalā, as in the cases of Vāgīśvara and Simhanāda and the second, the dancing variety, (ārdhaparyāṅkena nātyasthaṃ) as in the cases of Heruka Vajravārāhī and others. As the word ‘nartteśvara’ means the “ God of dances ” or the “ God in a dancing attitude,” the Āsana of Padmanartteśvara may, therefore, be taken as the dancing variety of Ardhaparyāṅka, and this is borne out by the fact that the only image that we have got, shows the god in the same attitude. This image hails from the Sarasvatīsthān or the Mañjuśrī Hill in Svayambhūṣeṭṭra in Nepal. Though the god has here been represented with only two of the companion deities, yet the principal figure minutely corresponds to the description given in the Sādhana-mālā.

## (II)

Colour—red.	Companion—Śakti.
Mudrā—Śūci.	Symbol—lotus.
Vāhana—an' mal.	

Another form of Padmanartteśvara is described in a second Sādhana and the Dhyāna contained therein runs as follows :—

“ Padmanartteśvaraṃ ātmānaṃ bhāvayet sattvaparyāṅkaniṣaṇṇaṃ dvibhujaikamukhaṃ raktaṃ sakalālaṅkāradharaṃ Amitābhamukutaṃ, vāmaparśve Pāṇḍaravāsīnisamāśṛiṣṭaṃ ālīṅgaṇābhīnayaṣṭhitavāmabhujaṇa rakta-padmādharaṃ, narttāṇābhīnayaṇa Sūcimudrayā vikāśayadaparadākṣiṇākaraṃ....”

Sādhana-mālā, A-29, N-28, C-27.

"The worshipper should conceive himself as Padmanartteśvara, who is seated on an animal, is two-armed and one-faced; whose complexion is red and who is decked in all kinds of ornaments, bears the effigy of Amitābha on the crown and is embraced by Pāṇḍaravāsini in the left; whose left hand, which carries the lotus, is raised in the act of embracing [the Śakti], while the right exhibits the Śūcīmudrā in the act of dancing...."

The accompanying drawing (Plate XXII, d) is all that we could secure in Nepal, of this form of Padmanartteśvara. The right hand which ought to have shown the Śūcīmudrā, has been given a lotus in the drawing. Moreover, the Vāhana is altogether absent.

The same Sādhana from which the Dhyāna quoted above has been restored, contains the description of the Mandala. The Sādhana in question further goes on to say that the lotus on which the God sits should have eight petals, each of which should contain one goddess. For instance, the East petal will have Vilokini, white in colour and carrying the red lotus. The South is occupied by Tārā of green colour holding the Palāśa and the lotus flowers. Bhūriṇī who should be in the West, is yellow in complexion and carries the Cakra and the blue lotus; Bhṛkuṭī in the North, whose complexion is white, holds the yellow lotus. In the North-East, there should be Padmavāsini, who is yellow in complexion and holds the Māñjiṣṭhā and the lotus. South-East is occupied by Viśvapadmēśvarī who is sky-coloured and holds the white lotus. The South-West is occupied by Viśvapadmā, who is white and carries the black lotus. The North-West is occupied by Viśvavajrā of variegated complexion, holding the black lotus.

### (III)

Colour—red.

Arms—eight.

Āsana—Ardhaparyāṅka in a dancing attitude.

Companions—Eight goddesses mentioned in (II).

The Nepal Manuscript No. 608 of Sāadhanamālā, gives a third description of Padmanartteśvara, which is not to be found in any other manuscript. As the MS. No. 608 is full of mistakes and omissions, the Sādhana in question is not altogether free from them. As it is, the Sādhana may be restored as follows :—

"Namaḥ Padmanartteśvarāya.

Tatra viśvapadmopari candre rakta-Hriḥ-kāraparinatam Padmanartteśvaram raktavarṇam ekamukham jaṭāmukūṭinam trinetram, aṣṭabhujam, sarvāṅkārabhūṣitam sarpayajñopavitam ardhaparyāṅkena tāṇḍavam. Prathamabhujadvayena nṛtyābhinayanam, dvitīyadaṁṣṭinabhujena vikāśayan śūcīmudrā, vāmabhujena raktapadmam śiraṣi dhṛtam, tritīyabhujadvayena vajravaddaṇḍatrisūladharam, caturthabhujadvayena akṣesūtrakundikādharam, aṣṭadcviparivṛtam, evam bhūtam Padmanartteśvaram Lokanātham bhāvayet."



“Salutation to Padmanartteśvara.

Here the worshipper should conceive himself as Padmanartteśvara, on the moon over the double lotus, springing up from the sacred syllable ‘Hrih,’ of red complexion, one-faced, having the crown of chignon, three eyes and eight arms; as decked in all sorts of ornaments, wearing the sacred thread of a snake, and dancing in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude. The first pair of hands exhibits the dancing pose, the second right exhibits the Sūcimudrā against the breast, the second left holds the red lotus over head; the third pair carries the staff and the Trisūla, surmounted by a Vajra, while the fourth pair carries the rosary and the water-pot. The principal god is surrounded by eight goddesses. In such a manner the god Padmanartteśvara Lokanātha should be conceived.”

7. HARIHARIHARIVĀHANODDBHAVA.

LOKEŚVARA.

Colour—white.

Arms—six.

Identification mark—Vāhana consisting of Siṃha, Garuḍa and Viṣṇu.

There was a considerable difficulty in recognizing images of this divinity. The Sādhana gives the description of the principal god, but is practically silent as to why a peculiar name of this kind has been ascribed to this particular variety of Lokeśvara. India has not given us, up till now, any image of Hariharivāhana and it is rare even in Nepal. There is only one sculpture (Plate XXIII, a) at Svayambhūkṣetra, and a bronze (Plate XXII, f) at Pāṭan, and both follow the Sādhana precisely. The lion is lowermost, on which rides Garuḍa. On the back of Garuḍa again, is the Hindu god, Nārāyaṇa with the four symbols, the conch, the discus, the mace and the lotus. Lokeśvara rides Nārāyaṇa. The lion, the Garuḍa and Nārāyaṇa, all have ‘Hari’ as their synonym, and as three Haris are there, Lokeśvara is said to have the Vāhana of three Haris and thus to have acquired the name of Hariharivāhana. Two Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā are devoted to the worship of this form of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara and the Dhyāna in one of them describes the god in the following terms :—

“Hariharivāhanodbhavam Bhagavantam Ārya-Avalokiteśvaram  
sarvāṅgaśuklam jaṭāmukūṭinam śāntaveśam, dakṣiṇakareṇa Bhagavantam  
Tathāgataṁ sāksinaṁ kurvantam, dvitīyena akṣamālādhāriṇam, tritīyena  
duḥkuhakaṁ lokaṁ upadeśāyantaṁ, vāmena daṇḍadharaṁ, dvitīyena kṛṣṇa-  
jinadharaṁ, tritīyena kamaṇḍaludharaṁ, siṃhagaruḍa-Viṣṇuskandhasthitaṁ  
ātmānam dhyātvā....”

Sādhanamālā, A-39-40, N-29, C-27-28.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as Hariharivāhanodbhava or god Ārya-Avalokiteśvara white in all limbs, with the crown of chignon, clad in peaceful garments, citing the Tathāgata as witness with one of his

right hands, carrying the rosary in the second and instructing the deluded people with the third ; as carrying the staff in one of his left hands, the black deer's skin in the second and the Kamaṇḍalu in the third ; as riding on the shoulder of Viṣṇu [who rides on] Garuḍa, [who is again on the back of a] lion. Thus meditating...."

But all the images of this divinity are not made strictly in accordance with the directions laid down in the Sādhana. There is an image of this god at Pāṭan with a snake entwining the legs of the lion, like the one reproduced in the Appendix. It is interesting to note that the word ' Hari ' is also a synonym for snake and it is no wonder that the snake is present there ; but in that case the sculpture cannot be said to follow the Sādhana precisely. Sometimes, in the drawings, instead of the deer's skin in one of the hands of the god, we find an elephant (Plate XXIII, b).

#### 8. TRAILOKYA VAŚĀṆKARA.

Colour—red.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.

This variety of Lokeśvara is also known as Oḍḍiyāna, Uḍḍiyāna or Oḍiyāna Lokeśvara, or Lokeśvara as worshipped in Orissa, which was, in the middle ages, a great centre of Tāntric learning. This form of Lokeśvara does not appear to have been very widely represented. We have met with only one bronze of this god in the Kva Vāhāl at Pāṭan in Nepal. Here also, the image of the god does not follow the Sādhana precisely. Two Sādhana only in the Sādhanamālā are devoted to the worship of Trailokyavaśāṅkara and the Dhyāna contained in one of them is given below :—

" Lokeśvaraṃ sarvāṅgamahārāgaraktaṃ ekamukhaṃ dvibhujaṃ tri-  
netraṃ jaṭāmukutaṃ mṛḍitaṃ vajrāṅkitapāśāṅkusahastaṃ raktapadme vajra-  
paryāṅkaniṣaṇṇaṃ divyābharāṇavastravibhūṣitaṃ ātmānaṃ vicintya...."

Sādhanamālā, A-41, N-80, C-29.

" The worshipper should realize himself as Lokeśvara (in the form of Trailokyavaśāṅkara), whose limbs are reddened by the intense sentiment of passion, who is one-faced, two-armed, three-eyed ; who has the crown of chignon over head, carries in his two hands the noose and goad stamped with the Vajra ; who is seated on the red lotus in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude ; and is decked in celestial garments and ornaments. Thus meditating...."

The Dhyāna, it may be noticed, does not give the name of this variety of Lokeśvara as Trailokyavaśāṅkara, but the Colophon\* attributes the name to him. It further says that the Sādhana is composed by the great Tāntric savant, Sarahapāda, famous in the middle ages as one of the eighty-four Siddhapuruṣas.

\* " Oḍḍiyānakrameṇa Trailokyavaśāṅkara-Lokeśvara-sādhanam Sarahapādakṛtam."

## 9. RAKTALOKEŚVARA.

## (I)

Colour—red.

Arms—four.

Companions—Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī.

Two Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā are devoted to his worship. But the two Dhyānas describe two widely different forms of the god. It is therefore necessary that both the Dhyānas should be quoted and translated. One of the Dhyānas describe him in the terms given below :—

“Dakṣiṇottarapārśve Tārā-Bhṛkuṭī-devīdvayasahitam Ārya-Avalokiteśvara-Bhaṭṭārakaṃ raktavarṇaṃ raktamālyāṃvarānulepanaṃ pāśāṅkuṣa-dhanurbāṇadharaṇacaturbhujam raktakusumāyitāśokataroradhatat avasthitam ātmānaṃ vicintayet.....

Raktalokeśvarasādhanaṃ”. Sādhanamālā. A-43, N-31-32, C-31.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, who is flanked in the South and North, by the goddesses Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī; who has red complexion, wears red garments and is besmeared with red unguents; who carries in his four hands the noose, the goad, the bow and the arrow,\* and who places himself under the Aśoka tree, which has blossomed forth red flowers.”

The Colophon attributes to him the name of Rakta-Lokeśvara, and this name has been given simply because his complexion is red. The only image (Plate XXIII, c) of this form of Lokeśvara, again, as far as we have been able to ascertain, appears in the Kva Vāhāl at Pāṭan in Nepal. This bronze bears an inscription in Newārī on the pedestal, which designates him as Rakta-lokeśvara. It may be noticed that he is not flanked in this image by his two companions, Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī. As there is no mention of the particular Āsana of the god, the standing attitude in the bronze is quite in keeping with the Sādhana.

## (II)

Colour—red.

Arms—two.

Symbol—lotus in the left hand.

Mudrā—opening petals of lotus.

The next Dhyāna undoubtedly describes a second form of Rakta-lokeśvara, of whom no representation has yet been found. The Dhyāna runs as follows :—

“Raktavarṇaṃ Amitābhagarbhajaṭāmukutadharaṃ vāmaśaraṅghita-raktapadmaṃ tacca dakṣiṇakareṇa vikāṣayantaṃ vivīdhālaṅkāravibhūṣitaṃ....

Raktalokeśvarasādhanaṃ”. Sādhanamālā. A-43, N-32, C-31.

\* These four weapons are held in the first and second pair of his hands.

"The worshipper should conceive himself as [Raktalokeśvara] of red complexion, having a crown of chignon bearing the effigy of Amitābha, carrying the red lotus in the left hand and opening its petals with the right,\* and as decked in various ornaments...."

A reference may be made to the Dhyāna of Vajradharma, equally un-presented, whose form will be described under No. 15. The forms of Raktalokeśvara and Vajradharma are almost identical, with the difference that the Sādhana enjoins for Vajradharma the Vāhana of a peacock and the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown.

#### 10. MĀYĀJĀLAKRAMA AVALOKITEŚVARA.

Faces—five.

Hands—twelve.

Āsana—Pratyālīdha.

Colour—blue.

As the Sādhana for the worship of this particular form of Avalokiteśvara has been restored from the Māyājāla Tantra, this peculiar name has been given to the deity. This is the only fierce form of Lokeśvara known to the Indian Buddhists, though fiercer forms are also to be met with in the Tibetan Buddhist Iconography. The Dhyāna given in the Sādhanamālā describes him in the following terms :—

"Bhagavantam Ārya-Avalokiteśvaram kṛṣṇavarṇṇam pratyālīdhestham sūryyamaṇḍalasthitam pañcamukham triṇetraṃ dvādaśabhujam sitaraktadakṣiṇamukhadvayam tathā pīṭaharitavāmamukhadvayam dakṣiṇabhujaiḥ damaru-khatvāṅga-aṅkuśa-pāśa-vajra-śaradharam, vāmabhujaiḥ tarjanī-kapāla-raktakamala-maṇi-cakra-cāpadharam daṁṣṭrākārāṣakalayadanam ṣaṇmudropetaṃ muṇḍamālālaṅkāṣaśariraṃ nagnam sarvāṅgasundaram ātmānam jhātīti pratyākalya...."

Sādhanamālā, A-45, N-88, C-82.

"The worshipper should conceive himself as Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, who has blue colour, who stands in the Pratyālīdha attitude on the orb of the sun ; who is five-faced, three-eyed, twelve-armed, with the two right faces of white and red colour, and two left of yellow and green colour ; who carries\* in his right hands the Damaru, Khatvāṅga, goad, noose, Vajra and the arrow, and in the left hands the raised index finger, the Kapāla, the red lotus, jewel, cakra and the bow ; whose faces look terrible with bare fangs ; who is endowed with the six auspicious ornaments ; † whose person is embellished by the garlands of heads, who is nude and appears beautiful in all limbs. Thus quickly meditating...."

\* The word 'vikāśayantam' may also mean 'exhibiting', which would have suited the context well in this case. If that meaning is accepted, the god will have the lotus in both of his hands.

† These six ornaments have been enumerated in the following verse in the Sādharamālā :—

"Kaṇṭhikārucakam ratnamekhalām bhasmasūtrakam ।  
Ṣaṭ vai Pāramitā eṭā mudrā rūpeṇa yojitāḥ ॥"

The image reproduced (Plate XXIII, d) is perhaps the only one of its kind in India, and belongs to the Svayambhūkṣetra (vulgo-Simbu) in Nepal. It is sculptured in an obscure corner, on one of the panels of a miniature caitya, and corresponds exactly to the description given in the Sādhana-mālā; the only deviation is that the god has not been represented as nude in this image.

### 11. NILAKAṆṬHA.

Colour—yellow.	Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.
Mudrā—Samādhi.	Symbol—bowl of jewels.
Companions—two serpents on either side.	Identification mark—no ornaments.

One Sādhana only is devoted to the worship of this form of Lokeshvara which is almost the same as that of Amitābha, whom he bears on his head, with the difference that here the former wears the sacred thread, and bears the effigy of his sire on head. Amitābha being a Dhyāni Buddha, has no father. Nilakaṇṭha, according to the Sādhana, is accompanied by two serpents. The Dhyāna is given below :—

“Bhagavantam pitavarṇṇam ardha-candrāṅkita-jaṭāmukūṭinam Amitābhopalakṣitaśīraḥpradeśam raktapadmopariśthitam; kṛṣṇasāraharinacarmanī vajraparyāṅkinam; samādhimudropari nānāratnaparipūrṇakapāladhārinam, eneyacarmakṛtayajñopavitinam, vyāghracarmāmbaradharam nirābharaṇam Nilakaṇṭham nilagūṭikāviśiṣṭakaṇṭham : parasparābhisambaddhapuccha-samaniphanāviśiṣṭa-Bhagavadavalokanaparordhva-mukha-kṛṣṇasarpad-vayopalakṣitam ātmānam evam vibhāvayet....

Nilakaṇṭha-Ārya-Avalokiteśvara-sādhanaṁ samāptam.”

Sādhana-mālā, A-44, N-82, C-82.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as the god Nilakaṇṭha, whose complexion is yellow, who wears the crown of chignon decorated with the crescent; on whose head is to be noticed the effigy of Amitābha, who sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a red lotus, on which is spread the skin of a black deer; who exhibits the Samādhi Mudrā with his two hands carrying the Kapāla (bowl) filled with a variety of gems; whose sacred thread consists of the deer-skin (eneya); who wears the tiger-skin, and bears no ornaments [on his person]; whose throat shows the blue pill [of poison]: on either side of whom and looking towards him are to be seen two cobras with jewels on their hoods, and with tails entwined with each other.”

Apparently the model of this god has been taken from the Hindu deity Śiva, who is said to have saved the world from destruction by swallowing the poison that came out from the mouth of Vāsuki, the lord of serpents, while the gods and demons were churning the ocean together. The poison, if it could enter Śiva's stomach, would surely have destroyed him. But it remained in his throat, and as the colour of the poison is said to be blue, there is a blue spot in the white throat of the god. That is the reason why the name Nilakaṇṭha has

been attributed to Śiva. As this particular form of *Lokeśvara* has also the same name, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the model for this variety has been taken from the Hindu god, Śiva *Nilakaṇṭha*.

A confusion is likely to occur in the identification of the images of *Nilakaṇṭha* and *Vāk*, the latter being a variety of *Mañjuśrī*, if their respective fathers are not represented. The only point of distinction in that case would be the total absence of ornaments and luxuriant dress in the case of *Nilakaṇṭha*. If the image bears princely ornaments and dress, it must be identified as that of *Mañjuśrī*.

In the temple of *Bauddhanātha* (Vulgo-Bardh) in *Népal*, one image of this god in colours has been discovered, but here the god appears alone without the serpents. The other image (Plate XXIII,e) hails from the monastery at *Sārnāth*, though we are not certain how far the identification proposed elsewhere\* is acceptable to scholars.

## 12. *SUGATISANDARŚANA-LOKEŚVARA*.

Colour—white.

Arms—six.

How we came across the two *Sādhanas* describing the two varieties, the *Sugatīsandarśana* and the *Pretasāntarpita Lokeśvara* has already been narrated elsewhere.\* The obverse side of the first leaf of the *Abhiṣekavidhi* of the *Guhyasamāja* containing the two *Sādhanas* along with the last page is reproduced herewith (Plate XXIV,a) for ready reference. The *Dhyāna* for *Sugatīsandarśana* given there is quoted below :—

“*Sugatīsandarśana-Lokeśvara-Bhāṭṭārakaṃ śuklavarnṇaṃ ṣaḍbhujam varadābhayaśamālādharāṃ dakṣiṇe. vāme padmakunḍitridaṇḍī ca ratnābharanābhūṣitaṃ vrata-sūtrādihāriṇaṃ jaṭāmukutī[na]ṃ padmopari candra-maṇḍale sthitaṃ bhāvayet.*”

“The worshipper should conceive himself as *Bhāṭṭāraka Sugatīsandarśana-Lokeśvara*, white in complexion, six-armed, showing the *Varada* and *Abhaya* poses and the rosary in the [three] right hands, and carrying the lotus, the water-pot, and the staff with three horns in the [three] left; as decked in ornaments and jewels, wearing the sacred thread, and having a crown of chignon over head; as situated on the moon over lotus, and as peaceful in appearance.”†

\* In my paper entitled “The Identification of *Avalokiteśvara* Images” read before the Second Session of the Oriental Conference held at Calcutta, in the year, 1922, and printed in its proceedings.

† In my paper referred to above an attempt has been made to identify one of the *Sārnāth* images with this particular variety of *Lokeśvara*. But as there are discrepancies of a serious nature, I have since abandoned the identification.

The Citrakāras of Nepal still draw pictures of this deity and a drawing is reproduced (Plate XXIV,b), to give our readers a fair idea as to his form, so that when we actually meet with one of its representations in stone or metal, it may readily be recognized.

### 13. PRETASANTARPITA LOKEŚVARA.

Colour—white.

Arms—six.

The Sādhana for the worship of this deity, likewise, has been furnished by the obverse side of the first leaf of the Abhiṣekavidhi, which was appended to the Nepal MS. in palm-leaf of the Sādhanamālā. We have not met with any representation of this deity anywhere except the one at Macchandar Vahal in Nepal. The Dhyāna has been expressed in the following terms :—

“Jaṭāmukūṭinaṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ prathamabhujadvayena varadau, dvitiya-bhujadvayena ratnapustakau, tṛtiyabhujadvayena akṣamālātridaṇḍikāṃ, sarvālankārabhūṣitaṃ \* vratasūtradhāriṇaṃ saumyamūrṭiṃ, padmopari candramaṇḍale sthitaṃ, śvetavarṇṇaṃ bhāvayet—

Pretasantarpita-Lokeśvara-sādhanam.”

“The worshipper should conceive himself as [Pretasantarpita Lokeśvara], who wears the crown of chignon, is six-armed, exhibits in the first pair of hands the Varada poses and carries, in the second pair the jewel and the book, and in the third the rosary and the Tridaṇḍī; who is decked in all sorts of ornaments, wears the sacred thread, has a graceful appearance, stands on the orb of the moon over the lotus, and is white in complexion.”

The illustration in Plate XXIV,c shows how the Citrakāras of Nepal still prepare drawings of this deity, and it is important in suggesting many minor features which the little Dhyāna does not mention.

### 14. SUKHĀVATĪ LOKEŚVARA.

Faces—three.

Arms—six.

Āsana—Lalita.

Companion—Śaktī (Tārā).

Colour—white.

We have not been able to find out the Sādhana for this deity in the Sādhanamālā, but the Dharmakoṣasaṅgraha of Amṛtānanda, however, gives a description of the god. Nepal abounds in the images of this deity (for instance, in Plate XXIV,d) both in stone and in bronze, though he is not found anywhere else. The description above referred to runs as follows :—

“Trimukhaḥ śvetavarṇṇaḥ ṣaḍbhujah, dakṣe, mudrāḥ, śarakṣepajapa-mālāvaradāni, vāmeṣu dhanuḥkamala-Tārōrūsamarpaṇāni lalitāsanah kama-lopari, Vajratārā, Viśvatārā, Padmatārābhīḥ parivṛtaḥ. Upari caityaḥ.

Sukhāvatī Lokeśvaraḥ.”

\* The Ms. has “akṣa” after “bhūṣitaṃ.”

“Sukhāvati Lokeśvara is three-faced, white in colour, and six-armed ; one of his right hands exhibit the act of shooting an arrow, the remaining two have the rosary and the Varada pose ; in two of the left hands he carries the bow and the lotus and the third is placed on the thigh of Tārā ; he sits in Lalitāsana on the lotus and is surrounded by goddesses, Vajratārā, Viśvatārā, Padmatārā and the like. Above is the Caitya.”

### 15. VAJRADHARMA LOKEŚVARA

Colour—reddish white.

Vāhana—peacock.

Identification mark--opening the lotus against the breast.

It has already been pointed out that Vajradharma is the only variety of Avalokiteśvara who is regarded as the offspring of the five Dhyāni Buddhas instead of Amitābha only. The distinguishing feature of this god is that he rides a peacock. The Sādhana devoted to his worship is almost wholly in verse and we give below the portion dealing with his form. This has been omitted by Dr. Foucher, and was first pointed out by the present writer in his paper on the “ Identification of Avalokiteśvara Images ” :—

“ Tam sitaṃ raktavarṇaṃ tu padmarāgasamadyutiṃ ।  
 Pañcabuddhamukutaḍharaṃ haṣṇotphullalocaṇaṃ ॥  
 Vāmato spardhayā nālaṃ dhṛtvā ṣoḍaśapatrakam ॥  
 Padmaṃ vikāṣayantaṇca hr̥di dakṣiṇapāṇinā ॥  
 Mayūropari madhyasthe niṣaṇṇaṃ candramaṇḍale ।  
 Sattvaparyāṅkamābhujya saṣṭṅgārarasotsavaṃ ॥  
 Caityāntalyṣṭha-mahākarma-kūṭāgāra-vihāriṇaṃ ।  
 Bhāvayet Vajradharmāgryaṃ nityaṃ Bodhiṃ avāpnuyāt ॥”

Sādhana-mālā, A 20, N 16, C-10.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as excellent Vajradharma, of reddish white complexion with splendour like that of the Padmarāga gem, who bears the effigies of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown ; whose eyes beam with delight ; who holds with pride the stem of a lotus with sixteen petals and with the right causes it to blossom against the breast ; who sits on the moon over lotus on the back of a peacock, enjoys his seat of the animal and displays the delightful amorous sentiment ; who moves in the sanctum inside the Caitya, the place for great performances. He (the worshipper) certainly receives the Bodhi who meditates [upon him] in this manner.”

The illustration in Plate XXIV,c shows the form of Vajradharma as drawn by the artists of Nepal in modern days. The right hand which ought to have been empty carries a book.

\* \* \* \*

The conception of Avalokiteśvara is as old as the third century B.C. He was first ushered into existence by the Mahāsāṅghikas, about the time of Aśoka, in their work, entitled Mahāvastu Avadāna, where he has been characterised\* as the “ Bhagavān who takes the form of a Bodhisattva, whose duty

\* Senart ; Le Mahāvastu, Vol. II, p. 294.



it is to look round (Avalokita) for the sake of instructing the people and for their constant welfare and happiness." This Avalokita Bodhisattva no doubt gave rise to the concrete form of Avalokiteśvara, even before the second century A. D. and his images can be traced from the Gupta period, onwards. He appears in a concrete form first in the *Sukhāvatī-Vyūha*\*, so far as our present information goes. The very great number of forms of Avalokiteśvara have undoubtedly a bearing on the passage† in the *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*, where he is said to take all possible forms of godhead in order to instruct the people and to put them in the way of salvation. As different people were of different religions, this Compassionate Bodhisattva had to assume the shape of all gods of all religions, nay even the shape of the father and the mother. As we are not sure how far these one hundred and eight forms are authoritative, it is desirable that these forms should be treated in an Appendix.‡

\* This work was first translated into Chinese between A.D. 148 and 170 while the smaller recension was first translated into the same language between A.D. 384 and 317. Max Muller: *Sukhāvatī Vyūha*. Introduction pp. III—IV.

† Quoted above, p. 32, footnote.

‡ See Appendix B.

## CHAPTER IV.

### EMANATIONS OF AMITĀBHA.

#### I. GODS.

Besides Avalokiteśvara and two forms of Mañjuśrī only two male divinities in the Sādhana-mālā emanate from the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha. One is Mahāvala and the other is Hayagrīva. Images of these we have not yet come across. So we must content ourselves at present with only the Dhyānas and their translations.

#### 1. MAHĀVALA.

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

Colour—red.

Appearance—terrible.

One Sādhana only is devoted to the worship of this particular emanation of Amitābha. The Dhyāna is given below :—

“Mahāvalaṃ ekamukhaṃ caturbhujaṃ sarvāṅgaraktaṃ ūrdhvapūṅgala-sarppāvabaddhakeśaṃ dakṣiṇabhujābhyāṃ sitaḍaṇḍacāmaradharaṃ\* vāma-bhujābhyāṃ vandanābhīṇayatarjanīdharaṃ vyāghracarmanīvasanaṃ śarpābharaṇaṃ pratyālīḍhaṃ daṃṣṭrākārālavadanaṃ sūryyaṃḍalaprabhā-māliṇaṃ Amitābhamukūṭinaṃ dhyāyāt”.

Sādhana-mālā. A 278. Na 86. C 216.

“The worshipper should realize himself as Mahāvala with one face, four arms and red complexion ; whose brown hair rises upwards and is tied round by a snake ; who carries in his two right hands the white staff and the chowrie, while the two left show the Namaskāra and the Tarjanī Mudrā ; who is clad in tiger-skin, wears ornaments of snake, and stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude ; whose face looks terrible with bare fangs ; who is resplendent like the orb of the sun, and bears the effigy of Amitābha on the crown.”

#### 2. SAPTAŚATIKA HAYAGRĪVA.

Colour—red. Appearance—terrible.

Symbols—Vajra and Daṇḍa (staff).

Identification mark—The horse's head over head.

He has several other forms, but in only one he is said to bear the image of Amitābha on his crown. Another is said to bear that of Akṣobhya, and in the third, there is no indication as to who should appear on his head. So, the three different forms should be dealt with in three different places. The particular name by which the third variation of

\* C reads, “sitacāmara”

Hayagrīva goes is Paramāśva, while the other two are given the name of Hayagrīva simply. As the present Sādhana which describes the form bearing the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha on the crown, has been, according to the Colophon, restored from the Saptasatika Kalpa, we designate this particular form of Hayagrīva as Saptasatika Hayagrīva. In this case also we have not met with any representation in stone or bronze, and the drawings that have been brought from Nepal present so wide a difference that we do not venture to reproduce them here. The Dhyāna as presented in the Sādhana is given below :—

“ Raktavarṇṇaṃ mahābhayānakaṃ trinetraṃ kapilaśmaśruṃ raudraṃ  
vrhadudaraṃ daṃṣṭrākārāṇaṃ dantaśṭhakapālamālinam jaṭāmukutaṇaṃ  
Amitābhaśāśkaṃ, dvitīyamukhaṃ nīlaṃ hayānanaṃ hihikāranādinam,  
brahmāṇḍasikharākṛāntaṃ, dvitīyena bhavāgraparyantaṃ, aṣṭanāgopetaṃ  
kharvavāmanākāraṃ vyāghracarmanivasanaṃ sarvālāṅkārabhūṣitaṃ sakala-  
devāsuraṃ tarpayantaṃ grhītavajradanḍaṃ . . . vicintayet.

Saptasatikakalpoktaṃ Hayagrīvasādhanaṃ samāptaṃ.”

Sādhanamālā. A—279, C—217.

The worshipper should conceive himself as [Saptasatika Hayagrīva] of red complexion, who is terribly awe-inspiring, three-eyed, with brown beard ; who is angry and has protruding belly ; whose face appears terrible with bare fangs : who wears garlands of skulls with teeth and lips, bears on his head the crown of elgion, and the figure of Amitābha ; whose second face is distorted like that of a horse, which is blue in colour and neighs incessantly ; who tramples on the top of the universe with one leg and the end of the world with the other ; who is decked in (ornaments of) eight serpents, is short and dwarfish, is clad in tiger-skin and decked in all ornaments ; who pleases all the gods and Asuras, and holds the Vajra and the staff (in his two hands).<sup>3</sup>

It may be noticed that the Dhyāna is not clear about the number of hands and faces ; but it seems from the description that Hayagrīva is endowed with a principal face, terrible in appearance over which is the horse's head. This horse's head over the principal one is found only in the case of Hayagrīva, and distinguishes him from all other Buddhist deities. But when, as a minor god, he accompanies others, we do not, as a rule, notice the horse's head. In such cases, the Daṇḍa or the staff serves as the identification mark. From the Dhyāna it also appears that he is two-armed and carries the Vajra and Daṇḍa. The Vajra is generally held in the right hand, while the Daṇḍa is carried in the left. About the name, however, the Colophon is certain, and it asserts that this Sādhana has been restored from the Saptasatika Kalpa, meaning a ritual work, consisting of words, that can make up seven hundred śloka in the Anuṣṭubh metre.

## II. GODDESSES.

The feminine divinities that emanate from the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha are three in number, the most important and popular being Kurukullā, to whose worship no less than fourteen Sādhana are devoted in the Sādhanamālā. Two Sādhana are devoted to Bhṛkuṭī and one Sādhana only to Mahāsītavatī, who is also known as one of the Pañcarakṣās or the five Great Protectresses. None\* of these goddesses we have been able to find out in stone or bronze ; but paintings are, however, made by the Nepalese Artists even in modern times. Let us take up the goddesses one by one :

## 1. KURUKULLĀ.

She is one-faced and may have two, four, six or eight arms. When she is endowed with six arms, she bears the effigies of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on her crown, or in other words, she is then regarded as the offspring of the combination of the five Dhyānī Buddhas. When two-armed she is called Śukla Kurukullā, and when she has four arms, she is called by the names of Tārod-bhava Kurukullā, Oḍḍiyāna Kurukullā, Hevajrakrama Kurukullā and Kalpokta Kurukullā.

Kurukullā is said to confer success in the Tāntric rite of Vaśikaraṇa or the rite of subduing or bewitching men, women, ministers or even kings. Many interesting processes are given in some Sādhana for bewitching in different cases. The mantra of Kurukullā is “Om Kurukulle Hum Hriḥ Svāhā”. If this mantra is muttered ten thousand times, all men will be bewitched ; thirty thousand would be sufficient for subduing a minister and one lakh for a king. She can even confer on her devotees the power of subduing all ministers and all kings.

## (i) Śukla Kurukullā.

Colour—white.

Symbols—rosary and the bowl of lotus.

Vāhana—animal.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.

Only one Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā furnishes us with the manner of her worship. The Dhyāna contained therein is a long one and runs as follows :—

“Ātmānam Bhagavatīm aksasītrotpalāmṛtakundīm savyāvasavyābhyām dadhānām, trinetrām Padmadhṛkpramukhaiḥ sarva-Tathāgataiḥ Vinādiṣo-ḍaśadevībhīḥ abhiśiktām, Amitābhavirājitanānāpuspaśohitaajāṇmukuṭām śṛṅgārādirasopetām, kiñcit savyapāṇipallavasthākṣasūtram ālokaṁnām,

\* Some Tibetan forms of Kurukullā, however, are noticed in Getty and Deniker's “*Gods of the Northern Buddhism*”.

kṣīrāmbhodhiśvetāvarṇṇābjasthāṃ amṛtāṅkopari sattvaparyāṅkāsanasthāṃ, kaṅkana-keyūra-kuṇḍala-nūpura-muktāhāra-divyavastrādivibhūṣitāṃ, nīl-  
 Ānantabaddhakeśīm, pīyūṣavarṇṇa-Vāsukikṛtāhārāṃ, rakta-Takṣakakṛtavarṇ-  
 nograkūṇḍalāṃ, dūrvāśyāma-Karkkoṭakakṛtayañjōpavitāṃ, śukla-Padma-  
 nāgēndrakṛtāhārāṃ, mṛṇālavarṇṇa-Mahāpadmakṛtanūpurāṃ, pīta-Śaṅkha-  
 pālākṛtakaṅkanāṃ, dhūmābhṛavat-Kulikakṛtakeyūrāṃ, śubhravarṇṇāṃ śiava-  
 damṛtavigrahāṃ karuṇādracittāṃ bhāvayet.

Śukla-Kurukullā-sādhanaṃ ". Sādhanamālā. A—191, N—106, C— 155.

"The worshipper should conceive himself as the goddess (Kurukullā), who carries the rosary and the cup of Utpala full of nectar in the right and left hands respectively; who is three-eyed and is offered bathing water by (the Bodhisattva) Padmapāṇi and others, by all the Tathāgatas and the sixteen damsels beginning from Viṇā; who wears the crown of chignon, which is decorated with various flowers and the miniature figure of Amitābha; who displays the sentiment of passionate love, and other sentiments; who turns slightly to have a look at the rosary which she carries in her leaf-like hand; who sits on an animal and rests on the nectar-like lap of the white lotus, that rises from the ocean of milk; who is decked in bracelets, armlets, ear-rings, anklets, pearl-necklace, and is clad in celestial garments; whose hair is tied up by the serpent Ananta of blue colour, whose necklace is formed by the milk-coloured Vāsuki, and the prominent ear-ornament (Kuṇḍala) of red Takṣaka; whose sacred thread is the green Karkkoṭaka; whose girdle is the white Padma, the lord of serpents; whose Nūpura (anklet) is the serpent Mahāpadma of the colour of the lotus stalk; whose bracelet is yellow Śaṅkha; whose armlet is Kulika of the colour of smoky clouds; whose complexion is white, and who seems to diffuse nectar and possesses a heart which is melted with compassion."

From this somewhat long description, the form of Śukla-Kurukullā would be sufficiently vivid. The other varieties have many features in common with the form described above and will now be noticed briefly. It is not necessary to quote and translate all the Dhyaṇas given in the Sādhanamālā.

#### (ii) Tārodbhava-Kurukullā.

Colour—red. Arms—four. Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.  
 Vāhana—Kāmadeva and his wife riding upon Rāhu.

Five Sādhanas describe the goddess with very slight differences. She has red complexion, red garments, red ornaments and a seat of red lotus. She is four-armed and shows in her two left hands the Abhaya pose and the arrow, while the two right carry the bow and the red lotus. She sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude and under her seat of lotus appears Kāmadeva and his wife riding on Rāhu. She has red aureole behind her, wears the effigy of Amitābha on the crown and resides in the Kurukulla mountain. She is in the fulness of youth and displays amorous sentiments. Sometimes she charges an arrow on the bow and is ready to strike.

## (iii) Oḍḍiyāna-Kurukullā.

Appearance—terrible.

Colour—red.

Āsana—Ardhaparyāṅka.

Vāhana—corpse.

This variant of Kurukullā may be called the Oḍḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna or Oḍḍiyāna Kurukullā, or Kurukullā as worshipped in Orissa. This form of the goddess presents rather a fierce form in as much as she has the garland of heads, the five skulls on her head, protruding teeth and tongue, garments of tiger-skin, and brown hair rising above her head in the shape of a flame. Her eyes are three in number which are red, round and moving. She is four-armed; the principal pair of hands is engaged in drawing to the full the flowery bow charged with an arrow of red lotus. The second pair holds the goad of flowers and the red lotus. She has red complexion and sits in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude on a corpse.

## (iv) Aṣṭabhuja Kurukullā.

Arms—eight.

Colour—red.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.

Mudrā—Trailokyavijaya.

As has previously been pointed out, Kurukullā may have another form with eight arms also emanating from the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha, though it is not expressly mentioned in the only Sādhana devoted to her worship. This Sādhana is attributed in the Colophon to the great Uḍḍiyā Siddhacāryya, Indrabhūti, who flourished about 700 A. D., and who had a more illustrious daughter, Lakṣmīṅkarā by name, well-versed in the doctrines of both Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna. The goddess described in this Sādhana is not of a terrible appearance like the six-armed Māyājāla Kurukullā or the four-armed, Oḍḍiyāna Kurukullā, but is mild, youthful and compassionate. The most important feature of the Sādhana is that it gives the description of a complete Maṇḍala which comprises of the principal goddess and twelve surrounding divinities. For a better understanding of the form of this goddess and of the constitution of the Maṇḍala, it is desirable that the Dhyāna should be quoted and translated :—

“ Kurukullāṃ Bhagavatīm aṣṭabhujaṃ raktavarṇṇāṃ raktāṣṭadalapad-  
masūrye Vajraparyāṅkaniṣaṇṇāṃ kūṭāgāramadhyaniṣasiṇīm, prathamakara-  
dvayena Trailokyavijayamudrādharaṃ, avasiṣṭadakṣiṇakaraṇiḥ aṅkuṣaṃ  
ākarnapūritaṃ śaraṃ varadamudrāṃ dadhānāṃ, pariśiṣṭavāmabhujaṇiḥ pāśaṃ  
cāpaṃ utpalaṃ dadhānāṃ, sakulālaṅkāravatīm bhāvayet.

Pūrvadale Prasannatārāṃ, dakṣiṇadale Niṣpannatārāṃ, paścimadale  
Jayatārāṃ, uttaradale Karmatārāṃ, aśānadale Cundāṃ, āgneyadale Aparā-  
jitāṃ, nairṭyadale Pradīpatārāṃ, vāyavyadale Gaurītārāṇa dhyāyāt. Etāśca  
sarvāḥ raktavarṇṇāḥ Pañca-Tathāgatamukutyāḥ vajraparyāṅkaniṣaṇṇāḥ,

dakṣiṇabhujābhyām varadamudrā-ākarnapūrīta-śaradharāḥ, vāmabhujābhyām utpalacāpadharāḥ.

Pūrvadvāre Vajravetālīm lambodarām vikṛtamukhīm raktavarṇṇām Akṣobhyamukutām, dakṣiṇahastābhyām tarjanī-aṅkuśadharām, vāmakarābhyām vajraghaṇṭāpāśadharām.

Dakṣiṇadvāre Aparājitām pītavarṇṇām Ratnasambhavamukutām dakṣiṇahastābhyām daṇḍāṅkuśadharām, vāmahastābhyām ghaṇṭāpāśadharām.

Pāścimadvāre Ekajaṭām kṛṣṇavarṇṇām ūrdhvakeśām lambodarām dantīvaṣṭabdhauṣṭhām Amitābhamukutām, dakṣiṇakarābhyām vajra-aṅkuśadharām, vāmakarābhyām ghaṇṭāpāśadharām.

Uttaradvāre Vajragāndhārīm kanakasyāmām Amoghasiddhimukutām vikṛtamukhīm lambodarām, dakṣiṇabhujābhyām khadga-aṅkuśadharām vāmabhujābhyām ghaṇṭāpāśadharām vicintayet.

Etāḥ catasraḥ ālīḍhapadasthāḥ”.

Sādhana-mālā. A--183-4, N--101, C--150.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as goddess Kurukullā, who is eight-armed, has red complexion, sits on the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on the disc of the sun over the lotus with eight petals and resides in the sanctum; who displays the Trailokyavijaya mudrā in her first pair of hands, and shows in the other right hands the aṅkuśa, the arrow drawn up to the ear and the Varada pose, and in the other left hands the noose, the bow and the Utpalā; and who is decked in all kinds of ornaments.

On the east petal is Prasannatārā, on the south is Niṣpānnatārā, on the west Jayatārā, on the north Karmatārā; on the north-east petal is Cundā, on the south-east Aparājitā, on the south west Pradīpatārā, and on the north-west Gaurītārā. All these deities have red complexion and five Dhyanī Buddhas on the crown: they sit in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude and show in the two right hands the boon pose and the arrow drawn up to the ear, and in the two left hands the Utpalā and the bow.

In the eastern gate is Vajravetālī, who has protruding belly, distorted face, red complexion, the effigy of Akṣobhya on tiara, and carries in the two right hands the Tarjanī and the goad, and in the two left the Vajraghaṇṭā and the noose.

In the southern gate is Aparājitā, who has yellow complexion, the effigy of Ratnasambhava on tiara, and carries in her two right hands the staff and the goad, and in the two left the bell and the lasso.

In the western gate is Ekajaṭā, who has blue colour, hair rising upwards over head, and protruding belly; who bites her lips with her teeth, bears the image of Amitābha on tiara, and carries in her two right hands the Vajra and the goad, and in the two left the bell and the lasso.

In the northern gate is Vajragāndhārī, who has golden complexion, bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on tiara, has distorted face, and protruding belly and carries in her two right hands the sword and the goad, and in the two left the bell and the lasso.

All these four goddesses stand in the Ālīḍha attitude.”



a. Arapacana  
(Java)



b. Arapacana  
(Dacca Museum)



c. Arapacana  
(Nepal)



d. Sthiracakra  
(Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat)





a. Śaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara with Śaḍakṣarī Mahāvidyā  
and Maṇidhara.  
( *Sarnath* )



b. Śaḍakṣarī Group.  
( *Indian Museum* )



c. Śaḍakṣarī Group.  
( *Birbhum* )



a. Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara  
(Nepal)



b. Śaḍakṣari Mahāvidyā  
(Sarnath).



c. Simhanāda  
(Magadha)



e. Simhanāda  
(Nepal)



d. Simhanāda  
(Nepal)



a. *Siṃhanāda*  
(*Nepal*)



b. *Siṃhanāda*  
(*Mahoba*)



c. *Khasarpaṇa*  
(*Indian Museum*)



d. *Lokanātha*  
(*Mahoba*)



Khasarpāṇa Avalokiteśvara  
(Vikrampur, Dacca).



(a) Lokanātha  
(Nepal)



(b) Lokanātha  
(Sarnath)



(c) Padmanartteśvara



(d) Hālāhala  
(Nepal)



(e) Padmanartteśvara  
(Nepal)



(f) Hariharihari-Vāhana  
(Nepal)



*a. Hariharivāhana  
(Nepal)*



*c. Rakta-  
Lokeśvara  
(Nepal)*



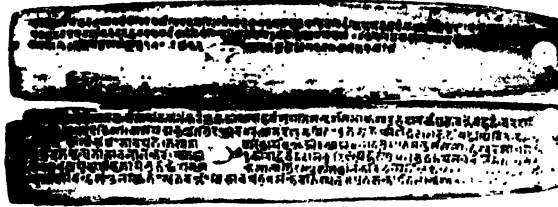
*b. Hariharivāhana*



*d. Māyājālakrama-Lokeśvara  
(Nepal)*



*e. Nilakaṇṭhā  
(Sarnath)*



a. Last and first page of Abhiṣekavidhi  
(Ms in Durbar Library, Nepal).



b. Sugatisandarṣana Lokeśvara.



c. Pretasantarpita Lokeśvara.



d. Sukhāvati Lokeśvara  
(Nepal)



Vajradharma Lokeśvara.



a. Candaroṣaṇa



b. Buddhakapāla



c. Heruka  
(Dacca Museum)



d. Hayagrīva





(a) Yamāntaka  
(Nepal)



(b) Yamāntaka  
(Nalanda)



(c) Jambhala



(d) Ucchuṣṣma Jambhala



(a) Mahācīna Tārā



(b) Mahācīna Tārā



(c) Jāngulī



(d) Ekajātā  
(Indian Museum)



(a) Ekajata



(b) Parṇasavari  
(Indian Museum)



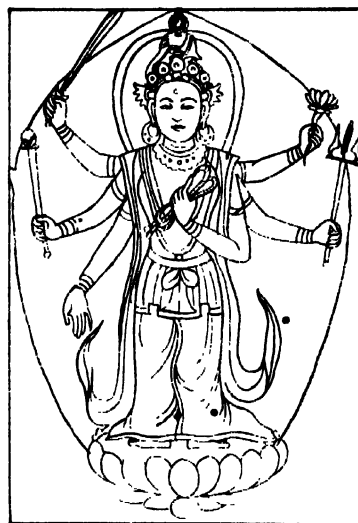
(c) Prajñāpāramitā  
(Leiden)



(d) Vajracarika



(a) Pratyāṅgirā



(b) Pratyāṅgirā



(c) Pratyāṅgirā  
(Nepal)



(d) Dhvajāgrakeyūrā



(a) Nairātma  
(Indian Museum)



(b) Nairātma  
(Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat)



(c) Aṣṭabhuja Mārīci  
(Indian Museum)



(d) Aṣṭabhuja Mārīci  
(Indian Museum)



(a) Aṣṭabhuja Mārīcī  
(Lucknow Museum)



(b) Daśabhujaṣita-Mārīcī



(c) Uśaiṣavijayā  
(Indian Museum)



(d) Uśaiṣavijayā



(e) Sitātapatrā Aparājitā



(a) Vajravārāhī



(b) Vajravārāhī



(c) Khadiravanī Tārā  
(Indian Museum)



(d) Khadiravanī Tārā  
(Mahoba)



(e) Khadiravanī Tārā  
(Dacca Museum)



(f) Khadiravanī Tārā  
(Indian Museum)

## 2. BHṚKUṬĪ.

Arms—four.

Colour—yellow.

We are, no doubt, familiar with the name of Bhṛkuṭī, who accompanies, as a minor goddess, some varieties of Avalokiteśvara. When she accompanies Khasarpaṇa, she is yellow in complexion and four-armed, carrying in the two left hands the Tridaṇḍi and Kamaṇḍalu. One of the two right hands is raised in the attitude of doing homage, while the other carries the rosary.

Bhṛkuṭī is also worshipped by the Buddhists as a principal goddess and two Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā are devoted to her worship. She is described in the following words :—

“Caturbhujai kamukhīṃ pītām trinetraṃ 'navayauvanāṃ varadākṣa-sūtradakṣiṇakārāṃ, tridaṇḍikamaṇḍaludharavāmakārāṃ Amitābhāmudritāṃ padmacandrāsanaśthāṃ Bhagavatīm dhyātvā....”

Bhṛkuṭīsādhanam.”

Sādhanamālā, A—178, Na—3, C—145-6.

“The goddess (Bhṛkuṭī) should be conceived as four-armed, one faced, yellow in complexion, three-eyed, blooming with youth ; as showing the Varada Mudrā and the rosary in her two right hands and carrying the Tridaṇḍi and the Kamaṇḍalu in the two left ; as stamped with the effigy of Amitābha (on head) and as sitting on the moon supported by the lotus. Thus meditating....”

Another Sādhana adds that she should have a peaceful appearance and should wear the crown of chignon on head.

The illustration printed on Plate LXI, b (*Sic. correct to 'a'.* ‘b’ is a picture of Vasudhārā) as that of Bhṛkuṭī in Getty's *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, is in reality that of Grahamātrkā, which deity will be described later.

## 3. MAHĀSITAVATĪ.

Arms—four.

Colour—red.

Āsana—Ardhaparyāṅka.

All the five goddesses constituting the Mahāpañcarakṣā group are said to emanate from one or other of the Dhyaṇī Buddhas. Mahāsitavatī is attached to Amitābha. The short Sādhana is as follows :—

“Mahāsitavatī caturbhujai kamukhī raktā dakṣiṇabhujadvaye akṣa-sūtravaradavatī vāmaabhujadvaye\* vajrāṅkuśahr̥tpradeśasthapustakavatī Hṛm̐bījā Amitābhamukutī ardhaparyāṅkasthitā nāṇālankāravatī sūryyā-sanaprabhā ceti.”

Sādhanamālā. A—215, Na—17, C—171.

“Mahāsitavatī is four-armed and one-faced, of red complexion, shows in her two right hands the rosary and the Varada pose and in her two left hands the goad surmounted by a Vajra and the book against the breast ; she originates from the syllable ‘Hṛim.’ bears the effigy of Amitābha on tiara, sits in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude, is decked in various ornaments, sits on the disc of and glows like the sun.”

\* A Omits “vāmaabhujadvaye....nāṇālankāravatī”.



## CHAPTER V.

### EMANATIONS OF AKṢOBHYA.

#### I. GODS.

The number of deities that emanate from the Dhyāni Buddha, Akṣobhya is rather large,—larger than the emanations from any other Dhyāni Buddha. The reason is that Akṣobhya was one of the earliest Tathāgatas to enter the Buddhist Pantheon. The blue colour of Akṣobhya is associated with the terrible deities in the Sādhana-mālā and with the gruesome rites in the Tantra. The deities emanating from this Dhyāni Buddha have generally the blue colour and they are usually terrible both in appearance and in deeds. Excepting perhaps Jambhala all other male emanations of Akṣobhya have terrible appearance with distorted face, bare fangs, three eyes, protruding tongue, garland of heads and skulls, the tiger-skin and ornament of snakes.

Besides several forms of Mañjuśrī, male deities emanating from Akṣobhya are nine in number, each having a large number of Sādhanas devoted to his worship. The deities to wit, Caṇḍaroṣaṇa, Heruka, Buddhakapāla, Samvara, Hayagrīva, Raktayāmāri, Kṛṣṇayāmāri, Jambhala and Uccuṣma-Jambhala. Let us take them up one by one.

#### 1. CAṆḌAROṢAṆA.

Colour—yellow.

Appearance—terrible.

Symbols—sword and Tarjanipāśa.

Identification Mark—left leg touching the ground (avaninihitajānuḥ).

Caṇḍaroṣaṇa is also called Mahācaṇḍaroṣaṇa, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa and Acala. Four Sādhanas are devoted to his worship and he is always represented in yab-yum. Prabhākarakīrti is said to be the author of one of the Sādhana a major portion of which is in verse. As there is no mention of the crest of Akṣobhya in this Sādhana we take up another which is in prose. The Dhyāna\* describing the god runs as follow :—

“Śricāṇḍamahāroṣaṇaṃ Bhagavantam atasipuṣpasankāśam Acalāparanāmānaṃ dvibhujam kekarākṣam daṃṣṭrākārālamahāghoravadanaṃ ratnamaulinaṃ daṃṣṭrānīḍitādharāṃ muṇḍamālāsīraskam āraktacakṣudvayaṃ dakṣiṇe khaḍgadharāṃ tarjanipāśahṛdayasthavāmakaram sitasarpayajño-

\* According to other Sādhana, he may have blue colour and the effigies of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown. The significance of the two symbols is that the noose is required to bind the host of the Māras, all of whom should be conceived as nude with hair dishevelled and as crying in utter helplessness, while the sword cuts them through.

pavitam vyāghracarmanivasanam nānāratnavirñcitābharaṇam bhūmilagna-vāmacaraṇam īśadunnatadakṣiṇacaraṇam sūryyaprabhāmālinam ātmānam vicintya....Akṣobhyamukūṭinaṁ dhyāyāt."

Sādhana-mālā. A—91, Na—20-21, C—70.

"The worshipper should meditate on himself as Śrī-Canḍamahāroṣaṇa, whose colour is like that of the Atasi flower, and who is also called Acala; who is one-faced, two-armed, and squint-eyed, whose face appears terrible with bare fangs, who wears a bejewelled head-dress, bites his lips with the teeth, and wears on his crown a garland of heads, whose eyes are slightly red, who carries the sword in his right hand and the noose round the raised-index finger against the breast, whose sacred thread consists of a white snake, who is clad in tiger-skin, whose ornaments consist of various gems; whose left leg touches the ground, while the right is slightly raised, and who has the radiance of the sun. Thus meditating....he should also be conceived as bearing the effigy of Akṣobhya on his crown.

It should be noticed that the Dhyāna is silent about the Śakti in whose embrace the god should remain in yab-yum. But if the Buddhist priests are to be believed and if the testimony of the Buddhist Citrakāras may be held to be of any value, we must assume that he is always represented in yab-yum, and can never be represented singly. The accompanying sketch (Plate XXV, a) meets all the requirements, but we have not yet succeeded in discovering any representation of the deity either in stone or in metal. Canḍaroṣaṇa is the most important figure in the celebrated Canḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra. His worship is always performed in secret, and the god is kept secluded from public gaze. Even if there be a bronze image, it is practically inaccessible to any one else except the initiated.

## 2. HERUKA.

Varieties—single or yab-yum.

Arms—two (single); two or four (yab-yum).

Āsana—Dancing in Ardhaparyāṅka.

Heruka is one of the most popular deities of the Buddhist Pantheon. His name is generally associated with his Śaktis, who embrace the god and remain in yab-yum. He is also worshipped singly and in that case he will have two arms only. When represented in yab-yum, he will have two or four arms. No less than five Sādhana are devoted to his worship.

### (1) Dvibhuja Heruka.

Colour—blue.

Vāhana—corpse (not always).

Āsana—Dancing in Ardhaparyāṅka.

Symbols—Vajra and the Kapāla.

Identification mark—Khaṭvāṅga with flowing banner hanging from the left shoulder.

Three out of the five Sādhana are devoted to this particular form of Heruka. Two of these are in prose and one is in verse. His worship confers Buddhahood on his worshippers and Heruka is said to destroy all Māras of

the world. His images are extremely rare even in Nepal. We know of only two images ; one appears in the Bauddhanātha Temple in Nepal and another has recently been discovered at Comilla and is deposited in the Dacca Museum, Dacca. The Dhyāna describes his form in the following terms :—

“ Śavasthaṃ ardhaparyāṅkaṃ naraca-masuvāsasaṃ ।  
 Bhasmoddhūlitagātraṇca sphuradvajraṇca dakṣiṇaṃ ॥  
 Calatpatākākhaṭvāṅgaṃ vāme raktakarotakaṃ ।  
 Śatārdhamuṇḍamālābhiḥ kṛtahāraṇaṃ ॥  
 Īsaddamśtrākarālāsyaṃ raktanetravilāsinaṃ ।  
 Pingordhvakeśaṃ Akṣobhyamukuṭaṃ karnakuṇḍalaṃ ॥  
 Asthyābharapaśobhaṃ tu śiraḥ pañcakapūlakaṃ ।  
 Buddhātavadāyinaṃ dhyāyāt jagannāraṇavāraṇaṃ ॥

Herukaśādhanaṃ.”

Sādhana-mālā. A—258, Na—50-51, C—20.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as (Heruka) who stands on a corpse\* in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude, who is well-clad in human skin ; whose body is besmeared with ashes, who wields the Vajra in the right hand ; in whose left is the Khaṭvāṅga with a moving flag (hanging from his shoulder like the sacred thread), and who carries in his left hand the Kapāla full of blood ; whose necklace is beautified by a chain of half-a-hundred heads ; whose face is only slightly distorted with bare fangs and who revels in his blood-shot eyes ; whose brown hair rises upwards and on whose tiara is the effigy of Akṣobhya ; whose ear-ornament is the Kuṇḍala and who is decked in ornaments of bones ; on whose head are the five skulls, who bestows Buddhahood and protects the world from the Māras.”

In another Sādhana for the worship of this particular kind of Heruka, the Khaṭvāṅga is described as being surmounted by a Vajra of five thongs and as decorated with the flag with moving bells, man's head and the double lotus, the lower half of the Khaṭvāṅga resembling the Vajra with one thong. This Sādhana does not mention the number of heads in the necklace, but says simply that it is sewn by guts. His left leg rests on the double lotus (and not on the corpse), while the right is placed on the left thigh in a dancing attitude.

The image (Plate XXV, c) that has been discovered by Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭa-śālī and deposited in the Dacca Museum, agrees in all details with the description just given. Though the hands are broken it can yet be discerned that the right wielded the Vajra and the left carried the Kapāla against the breast. The attitude in which he stands is called the dancing attitude in Ardhaparyāṅka. His head-dress is decorated with five skulls and the effigy of Akṣobhya. The Khaṭvāṅga has an overflowing banner attached to it and the ends of the banner are decorated with small bells.

\* The corpse on which Heruka dances is prostrate on the ground and lies on its breast. His Śaktis, when represented singly on corpses, will also have this peculiar kind of corpse with its face down. As a matter of fact, this serves as a distinguishing symbol in the case of Heruka and his Śaktis.

(ii)

Variety—yab-yum.

Companion—Prajñā.

Only one Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā gives the procedure for the worship of the two-armed Herukā in yab-yum, who is also known as Trilokyākṣepa. The god varies a little from the description of single Heruka given above. He also has two arms, which carry the Vajra in the right and the Kapāla in the left. The Khaṭvāṅga, as usual, hangs from his left shoulder and resembles a sacred thread. He wears ornaments of bones and is embraced by his Prajñā, who is one-faced and two-armed, carrying the Kartri in the right hand and the Kapāla in the left. He has bare fangs, wears garlands of heads and feasts on human flesh, as is evident from the following Namaskāra given in the Sādhana :—

“*Daṃṣṭrotkaṭamahābhīmamundaśragdāmabhūṣitaṃ ।*

*Bhākṣyamānaṃ mahāmāṃsaṃ Śrī-Herukaṃ namāmyahaṃ ॥*”

An image in colours of this variety of Heruka appears in the Bauddhanātha Temple in Nepal.

(iii) Caturbhuja Heruka.

Variety—yab-yum.

Arms—four.

Companion—Svābhā Prajñā.

One Sādhana also is devoted to the worship of this particular form of Heruka ; here he is four-armed and is embraced by his Prajñā who is identical with him in all respects. The four-armed Heruka is similar in all other respects to the two forms described above, except that he carries in his four hands the black Vajra, the sword, the Khaṭvāṅga and the jewel. The Khaṭvāṅga this time does not hang from his left shoulder but is carried in one of his hands. The Sādhanas in all these three cases are particular in saying that they all bear the image of Akṣobhya on their tiara.

### 3. BUDDHAKAPĀLA.

Variety—yab-yum.

Arms. — four.

Colour—blue.

Companion—Prajñā.

Āsana—dancing in Ardhaparyāṅka.

Only one Sādhana gives the description of this god, who is, in all probability, another form of Heruka. The Sādhana says that when Heruka is embraced by Citrasenā he gets the name of Buddhakapāla. He has one face and four arms carrying the Khaṭvāṅga, the Kapāla, the Kartri and the Damaru ; he is embraced by his Prajñā, Citrasenā and remains in yab-yum. He is slightly different from the four-armed variety of Heruka as the following Dhyāna in the Sādhana will show :—

“*Mahāvīro ghorasamhārakarakāḥ nīlavarnṇaḥ mahāvapuḥ asthyābharaṇārdhaparyāṅkaṃ nṛtyasthaṃ muṇḍamālāvibhūṣitaṃ mukute Akṣobhyadhāri-*

nam ekavaktraṃ caturbhujam, vāme khaṭvāṅgakapālam, dakṣiṇe kartriḍa-marukam, Prajñālingitaṃ ; vāme Citrasenā mattā muktakēśī sarvabhayarahitā devī cumbayantī muhurmuḥ evam ātmānāṃ dhyātvā....

Iti Śrīmato Buddhakapālasya Sādhanaṃ ”.

Sādhana-mālā, A—275, Na—47, C—214.

“ The worshipper should meditate on himself as (Buddhakapāla) who is a great hero, the supreme destroyer, of blue complexion and gigantic stature ; who has ornaments of bones, stands in Ardhaparyāṅka in a dancing attitude, is decked in garlands of heads, holds the effigy of Akṣobhya on the crown, is one-faced and four-armed ; who carries the Khaṭvāṅga and the Kapāla in the left hands and the Kartri and the Damaru in the right, and is embraced in the left by the Prajñā, Citrasenā by name, intoxicated, nude, and fearless, who with dishevelled hair kisses the god incessantly. Thus meditating....”

The same Sādhana later on gives the details of the Maṇḍala and further goes on to say that Buddhakapāla is surrounded by twenty-four goddesses arranged in three circles. The first circle has Sumālinī (blue) in the East, Kapālinī (yellow) in the North, Bhīmā (green) in the West and Durjayā (white) in the South. The next circle has Śubhamekhalā (east), Rūpinī (north), Jayā (west) and Kauverī (south) ; Kāminī (north-east), Mahodadhi (north-west), Karīṇī (south-west) and Mārīṇī (south-east). The outermost circle has Bhīma-darśanā (east), Ajayā (north), Śubhā (west), Ostārakī (south) ; Surakṣiṇī (north-east), Vikālarātri (north-west), Mahāyaśā (south-west) and Sundarī (south-east). Besides these, there are the four guardians of the gates, Sundarā (East), Subhagā (North), Priyadarśanā (West) and Nairātmā (South). Excepting the four deities of the innermost circle, all other goddesses have blue complexion, two arms, one face, ornaments of bones, brown hair rising upwards but no garland of heads. They carry the Kapāla in the left and the Kartri in the right and dance in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude.

The accompanying sketch (Plate XXV, b) represents the main god in the embrace of his Śakti Citrasena, but without the attendants. The remarks made about the yab-yum representations of Caṇḍaroṣaṇa apply to this case also, and we shall have to be satisfied in the case of this deity with a mere sketch drawn by a Nepalese artist.

#### 4. VAJRAḌĀKA.

Variety—yab-yum.

Companion—Vajravārāhi.

When Heruka is embraced by the Dākinī Vajravārāhi in yab-yum, he is called VajraḌāka. VajraḌāka has three varieties, Samvara, Saptākṣara and Mahāmāyā. Samvara is one-faced and two-armed, the second Saptākṣara is three-faced and six-armed and is surrounded by six goddesses, and the third variety, Mahāmāyā is four-faced and four-armed and is surrounded by four goddesses.

## (i) Samvara.

Colour—blue.	Āsana—Ālīḍha.
Vāhana—Kālarātri.	Symbols—Vajra and Ghaṇṭā.
Prajñā—Vajravārāhi.	

One Sādhana only in the Sāadhanamālā describes the procedure for the worship of this variety of Vajradāka. He is two-armed and one-faced and bears the effigy of Akṣobhya on his crown. He appears terrible with his garment of tiger skin, the garland of heads, a string of skulls round the head, three eyes and the Ālīḍha attitude, in which he tramples upon Kālarātri. The Dhyāna is in verse and describes the god in the following terms :—

“ Lalāṭasthaṃ kṛpālamālāṃ candrārdhaṃ mūrdhni dhārayet |  
 Śaṇmudrā muṇḍamālī ca viśvavajrī trilocaṇaḥ ||  
 Ālīḍhapadavinyāso viśvākṣaravivartinīḥ |  
 Sahhairavāṃ Kālarātriṃ ūrūḍho vyāghracarmabhṛt ||  
 Akṣobhyaśekharāḥ kṛṣṇo vajraghaṇṭājātānvitaḥ |  
 Vīro'sau Vajravārāhī vajrāsrkpūrnakapālabhṛt ||  
 Khaṭvāṅgamīkhalā raktā trinetrā muṇḍamālīnī |  
 Pañcamudrā muktakeśī digvastrā Buddhaśekharā ||

Dvibhuja-Samvaropadeśaḥ samāptaḥ.”

Sāadhanamālā, A—277 C—214.\*

“The worshipper should conceive himself as (Samvara) who has a garland of heads round his forehead, the crescent on the top of his head, is endowed with the six auspicious symbols, wears a necklace of heads, has the Viśvavajra on his headdress, is three-eyed, stands in the Ālīḍha attitude, originates from a combination of all the letters of the alphabet, tramples down the fierce Kālarātri, is clad in tiger-skin, has the crest of Akṣobhya, is blue in colour, carries the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā, has matted hair, displays heroism and is embraced by Vajravārāhi holding the Vajra, and the Kṛpā full of blood. Her girdle is the Khaṭvāṅga, complexion is red, and eyes are three; she wears the garland of heads, is endowed with the five auspicious symbols, has dishevelled hair and nothing but the four quarters as her garment (i.e. she is nude) and wears the image of Buddha [Vairocana] on the crown.

## (ii) Saptākṣara.

Faces—three	Arms—six.
Āsana—Ālīḍha.	Prajñā—Vajravārāhi.

This variety of Vajradāka is called Saptākṣara or the ‘seven-syllabled’ one, because his Mantra † consists of seven syllables. Like Dvibhuja-Samvara mentioned above, he is also embraced by Vajravārāhi, who

\* Wanting in N.

† “Om Hrīḥ Ha Ha Hum Hum Phaḥ.”

is identical with her consort in all respects. Like Samvara this god also tramples upon Kālarātri and holds the Viśvavajra on the crown. He has also the crescent on his head, is endowed with the six auspicious symbols, stands in the Ālīḍha attitude on the orb of the sun. He has three faces of blue yellow and green colours and carries the Vajra the Ghaṇṭā and the human skin in the three left hands and the Kapāla, the Khaṭvāṅga and the Triśūla in the three right hands.\*

The Sādhana adds further that on each of the six spokes of the wheel of the sun on which the god stands, there should be six deities, namely, (commencing from the right) Heruki, Vajrabhairavi, Ghoracaṇḍi, Vajrabhāskari, Vajraraudri and Vajradākinī. They should have respectively blue, yellow, red, green, smoky and white colour. All of them have dishevelled hair, fierce appearance, three eyes, and the quarters as garments. They carry the sounding Ḍamaru and the Ghaṇṭā in the first pair of hands and the human skin in the other pair. They stand on the sun which is on the corpse, their headdress is decorated with a row of skulls, and they stand in the Ālīḍha attitude.†

In another Sādhana devoted to the worship of Saptākṣara, a slight variation is to be noticed. In it, we find that the god should, in the first pair of hands which are engaged in embracing the Prajñā, carry the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā; in the second pair, the human skin only; and in the third pair, the

\* The text of the Sādhana is as follows :—

“ Saḍbhujam trimukham tryakṣam sarvalakṣaṇalakṣitam ।  
 Vyāñjanāśītisaṃyuktam ālikālyudbhavam prabhum ॥  
 Vajraghaṇṭāsamāpannam naracarmādradhārīnam ।  
 Vāme kapālakhaṭvāṅgatriśūlam dakṣiṇe kare ॥  
 Kapālamālāmukuṭīm viśvavajrajaṭḍharam ।  
 Ardhenduśekharam caiva saṃmudrādehabhūṣaṇam ॥  
 Nilapīṭaharitaavaktram vyāghracarmāmbarāvṛtam ।  
 Ālīḍhākṛāntasūryyasthabhūra-Kālarātrikām ॥  
 Yathā nāthasya tathā Vajravārāhyāpi bhujādibhiḥ ।  
 Devī jānu samāveṣṭya paramānandavihvalā ॥

Durjayacandroddhṛtam Saptākṣarasāadhanam Saṃśṛtam.”

Mss. Na-60, C-208, A-267.

† The goddesses constituting the Maṇḍala of Saptākṣara—

Heruki prathamā devī dvitīyā Vajrabhairavi ।  
 Tṛtīyā Ghoracaṇḍī syāccaturthī Vajrabhāskari ॥  
 Pañcamī Vajraraudri ca ṣaṭthī syād-Vajradākinī  
 Nilapīṭaraktaharitatadhūmrāsītā devyāḥ ॥  
 Muktakeśā mahāraudrā trinetṛāśca digambarāḥ ।  
 Rapaḍḍamaru ghaṇṭā ca hastetarakaradvayā ॥  
 Dadhānā naracarmāṇi pretasūryyopariśṭhitāḥ ।  
 Kapālamālāmukutā ālīḍhāsanasaṃsthitāḥ ॥  
 Śaḍakṣarabhavābhavyā devyāḥ sarvāḥ yathākramam ॥

Ibid.

**Kapāla and the Trisūla.** The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from his shoulder as usual. Vajravārāhī is identical with the Prajñā mentioned before with the difference that here she should have in the second pair of her hands the bow and the arrow instead of the human skin.

(iii) Mahāmāyā.

Colour—blue.	Prajñā—Buddhaḍākinī.	Companions—four.
Arms—four.	Faces—four.	Appearance—terrible.
Āsana—Dancing in Ardhaparyāṅka.		

Mahāmāyāhvayaṃ devaṃ cāturmukhaṃ caturbhujam |  
Anke yasya tathā devī catasro dikṣu cāparāḥ ||

Heruka goes by the name of Mahāmāyā when he is embraced by Buddha-ḍākinī (another name for Vajravārāhī) and remains in yab-yum. This variety of Heruka has four faces and four arms and is accompanied by four goddesses in the four cardinal points. Two Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā are devoted to the worship of this deity. One of these is attributed to Kukkuripāda, celebrated as one of the eight Siddhas who flourished in the mediæval age in India. Below is given a summary of the description of the Maṇḍala \* for Mahāmāyā.

Mahāmāyā has a terrible appearance : his person is besmeared with ashes and his hair streams upwards in the shape of a flame. He has blue complexion and his headdress is decorated with a row of skulls. His four faces have blue, yellow, white and green colour and he carries in his four hands the Kapāla, arrow, the Khaṭvāṅga and the bow. He possesses the five auspicious symbols, has the torque round the neck and bracelets in his hands. He is clad in human skin, has three eyes in each head and fiery flames radiate from his

\* The following Dhyaṇa has been given in the Sādhanamālā :—

“ Karuṇācalvajraṃ nilapīṭasitaśyāmacāturmukhaṃ caturbhujam dakṣiṇabhujē[ṣu]  
kapālaśaradharasṃ vāme khaṭvāṅgadhanurdharaṃ raudrāsanasthaṃ trinetraṃ sārdrā-  
muṇḍasragdāmamālinaṃ kapālamālābhīḥ śīrasi bhūṣitaṃ asthyālāṅkaravibhūṣitaṃ  
īṣaddamṣṭrākārālavadaṇaṃ piṅgalordhvakeśaṃ...svābhā-Prajñāliṅgitaṃ vyomāvakāśi-  
naṃ Vajradharābhīṣekinaṃ...Tatra pūrvadale Vajradākinī nilavarṇā nilapīṭaraktāśyā-  
macāturmukhā caturbhujā. Vāmbhujē khaṭvāṅgaghaṭṭā dakṣiṇe vajrakapālahastā....  
Dakṣiṇadale Ratnadākinī pītavarṇā pīṭanīlāraktāśyāmacāturmukhā caturbhujā vāmbhujē  
patakākaṣṭhikāṣṭhikā dakṣiṇe trisūlaratnahastā...pāścimadale Padmadākinī sītāruṇa-  
varṇā, raktapīṭanīlāśyāmacāturmukhā caturbhujā vāmbhujē dhanuḥkapālam dakṣiṇe  
śaravīśvapadmahastā...uttaradale Viśvādākinī śyāmavarṇā, śyāmapīṭaraktanīlacatur-  
mukhā caturbhujā, vāmbhujē pāśekapālam, dakṣiṇe khaṭvāṅga-(or khaḍga-)ḍamaruḥastā  
....devyaḥ sarvā raudrāsanasthāḥ kapālamālāḥ śīrasi vibhūṣitāḥ sārdrāmuṇḍasragdāma-  
mālīnyāḥ trinetraḥ, īṣaddamṣṭrākārālavadaṇāḥ jvalitordhvakeśāḥ sphuradrāśmīmālīnyāḥ  
....—Mahāmāyāsādhanopāyikā samāptā.” Sādhanamālā, A-225, Na—48, C-200.



body. He appears beautiful in his sentiment of mixed anger and delight, and stands in the Ardhaparyāṅka in a dancing attitude. He is embraced by Buddhaḍākinī,† who is red, and carries the same weapons and has the same appearance and symbols as those of Mahāmāyā. Her four faces are red, yellow, white and green.

The four petals in the four cardinal directions of the lotus seat are occupied by the following goddesses.

(1) Vajraḍākinī in the East who is of blue colour, with four faces of blue, yellow white and green colour and carries the Khaṭvāṅga and Ghaṇṭā in the two left hands and the Vajra and the Kapāla in the two right.

(2) Ratnaḍākinī is on the South, of yellow complexion, with four faces of yellow, blue, red and green colour. She carries the flag and the jackal in the two left hands and the Trisūla and the jewel in the two right.

(3) Padmaḍākinī on the West, of reddish-white complexion, who has four faces of red, yellow, blue and green colour and who carries the bow and the Kapāla in the two left hands and the arrow and the double lotus in the two right.

(4) Viśvaḍākinī on the North, of green colour, who has four faces of green, yellow, red and blue colour and who carries the Pāśa and the Kapāla in the left and the Khaṭvāṅga (or the sword) and the Ḍamaru in the two right hands.

These four deities display wrathful attitudes, have their heads decorated with a number of skulls, have garlands of heads still wet with blood, three eyes, protruding teeth, brown hair streaming upwards in the shape of a flame and fiery flames radiate from their persons.

## 5. HAYAGRĪVA.

Colour—red.	Faces—three.	Arms—eight.
Āsana—Lalita.	Appearance—terrible.	

One form of Hayagrīva with Amitābha on the crest has already been discussed in the previous Chapter. There is another form of the god that emanates from the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya. The Dhyāna describing him runs as follows :—

Ārya-Hayagrīvaṃ raktavarṇaṃ trimukhaṃ aṣṭabhujaṃ pratimukhaṃ  
trinetrāṃ nilasitadakṣiṇetaravadanaṃ sarpābharaṇaṃ lalitākṣepapadanyāsaṃ

† The Dhyāna for Buddhaḍākinī (Prajñā) is given in another Sādhana :—

Priyatulyāyudhā raktā tatkaṇṭhāśleṣa dardvayā ।  
Sri-Buddhaḍākinī rakṣapīṭaśvetaharinmukhī ॥

sakrodhadr̥ṣṭinirīkṣamānam, prathamamukhaṃ smeram lalajjihvam, dakṣiṇamukhaṃ daṃṣṭrāvaṣṭahdhaṣṭhaṃ, vyāghracarmanivasanam vajradanḍa-karaṇamudrāśarodyatadakṣiṇakaracatuṣṭayaṃ tarjanikāśvakucagrahapadma-dhanurudyatavāmakaracatuṣṭayaṃ Akṣobhyamauliṃ dhyāyāt.”

Sādhana-mālā. A—279, Na—87, C—217.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as Ārya Hayagrīva, who has red complexion, eight arms, and three faces, each face with three eyes ; whose right and left faces are of blue and white colour, who has ornaments of snake, whose legs are so placed as to resemble the Lalita attitude, who has angry looks, whose first face has a smiling appearance, the right has a protruding tongue and the left bites the lips ; who is clad in tiger-skin ; who shows in his four right hands the Vajra, the staff, the Karaṇa pose and the raised arrow. Of the four left hands, one has the Tarjanī, another hand touches his own breast, and the lotus and the bow are in the remaining two. He bears the image of Akṣobhya on his crown.”

The accompanying drawing (Plate XXV,d) shows how this god is represented now-a-days in Nepal. It varies a little from the description given in the Sādhana. The hand that ought to have touched the breast displays a different Mudrā ; and the hand that ought to have displayed the raised index finger only, has a noose round it. Nevertheless, the sketch is important as it shows a miniature neck of a horse set above the head, to prove that the representation is really of Hayagrīva, that is, the god possessing the neck of a horse. The Karaṇa pose, generally absent in other Sādhana, of which a correct representation has been given, should also be noted.

## 6. YAMĀRI.

Identification mark—head of a buffalo.

Vāhana—buffalo.

No less than fourteen Sādhana describe the procedure in which the deity should be worshipped. In one of the Sādhana it is said that in accordance with the different functions discharged by the deity, he gets different colours ; for instance, in the Sāntikavidhi, he is white and faces the East ; in Pauṣṭika, he is yellow and faces the North ; in Vaśyavidhi, he is red and faces the West ; and in Ākarṣaṇa, he is blue and faces the South, and so on. Of these varieties, the red and the blue are more popular ; in other words, his worship is mostly performed with a view to enchanting men and women (Vaśyavidhi), and to forcibly subduing them and bringing them to the worshipper (Ākarṣaṇavidhi). Yamāri or Yamāntaka may be worshipped alone or in conjunction with the Prajñā. He should have the head of a buffalo on his shoulders and should ride on a buffalo. Getty \* records a tradition current in Tibet, which gives the origin of this fearful god.

\* Getty : *Gods of the Northern Buddhism* p. 136.

There was once a holy man who lived in a cave in deep meditation for fifty years, after which he was to enter into Nirvāṇa. On the night of the forty-ninth year, eleventh month and twenty-ninth day, two robbers entered the cave with a stolen bull and slaughtered it there. But when they discovered the presence of an ascetic, a witness to their crime, they beheaded him,—and lo ! his body assumed the ferocious form of Yama and taking up the bull's head, he set it up on his headless shoulders. He then killed the two robbers and drank their blood from the cup made out of their skulls. In his fiery and insatiable thirst for victims he threatened to depopulate the whole of Tibet. The Tibetans appealed to their Tutelary deity, Mañjuśrī, whereupon the latter assumed the fierce form of Yamāntaka and defeated Yama in a fearful struggle.

Whatever might be the truth of the tradition, it sufficiently explains the presence of eulogies of Mañjuśrī in the Sādhana for Yamāntaka. It may be noted, however, that the Sādhanamālā is absolutely silent about Yama, both as a principal deity or as an opponent of Yamāntaka.

(i) Raktayamāri.

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.	Variety —yab-yum.
Appearance—terrible.	Companion—Prajñā.
Colour—red.	

Six Sādhana are devoted to the worship of this variety of Yamāntaka. He is one-faced and two-armed and is embraced by the Prajñā who is identical with him in appearance. The Dhyāna describing his form is given as follows :—

“Ātmānaṃ Yamāntakaṃ ekamukhaṃ dvibhujam pratyālīḍhapadaṃ raktapariṇakapālāvāmakaraṃ sārdrapītamundāṅkitasitadāṇḍakṣiṇakaraṃ nāgābharaṇavibhūṣaṇaṃ piṅgalordhvakeśaṃ vyāghracarmāmbara-dharaṃ Akṣobhyamukuṭinaṃ svābhā-Prajñāliṅgitaṃ mahiṣopari viśvadala-kamalasūryyasthaṃ dhyāyāt. Bhagavatīṅca dvibhujai kamukhīm, vicitrābharaṇām, ālīḍhapadaasthitām, madavihvalām, skhalatvyāghracarmāmśukām, Bhagavatā saha samputayogena pratyālīḍhenāvasthitām evaṃ vicintya....”

Sādhanamālā. A—288-9, Na—35, C—224.

“The worshipper should realize himself as Yamāntaka, one-faced and two-armed, who stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, carries the Kapāla full of blood in the left hand and in the right the white staff surmounted by a yellow head still wet with blood ; who is decked in ornaments of snakes ; whose brown hair rises upwards, who wears garments of tiger-skin, bears the image of Akṣobhya on the crown, is embraced by his Svābhā-Prajñā, and stands on the sun over the double lotus on the back of a buffalo. He (th

worshipper) should also meditate upon the Bhagavatī (Prajñā), who is one-faced, two-armed, has variegated ornaments, stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, is intoxicated with wine, wears garments of tiger-skin that are slipping from her waist and remains in yab-yum, —both standing in the Pratyālīḍha attitude. Thus meditating....”

## (ii) Kṛṣṇayamāri.

Colour—blue.

Varieties—four.

Eight Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā describe his different varieties. He may have (a) one face and two arms, or (b) three-faces and four-arms, or (c) three or six faces and six arms. In all other respects the god is the same ; but even when he is two-armed, the symbols are different. He is represented singly and also in yab-yum.

## (a)

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

Symbol—the staff surmounted by a Vajra.

Mudrā—Tarjanipāsā against the breast.

Variety—single.

This form of Yamāri is sometimes met with in representation. He has no attendants and the Dhyāna describes his form in the following terms :-

“Yamāriṃ vicintayet ātmānaṃ pratyālīḍhapadasthitam ekamukham dvibhujam nilavarṇam dakṣiṇakare vajrāṅkitodyatanīladaṇḍam, vāmakare tarjanipāsam hr̥di ; evaṃ bhūtaṃ Yamāriṃ....viśvalakamalopari sūryasattham mahiṣārūḍham bhāvayet ”

Sādhanamālā. A.—299. Na—89, C—281.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as (Kṛṣṇa)-Yamāri who stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, is one-faced and two-armed, and is blue in colour ; who carries the brandished staff stamped with a Vajra in the right hand, and in the left the Tarjanī and the Pāsā against the breast. In this form, Yamari....should be conceived as standing on the sun over the double lotus and as riding a buffalo ”.

The illustration (Plate XXVI,a) shows a two-armed form of Yamāri and the image is in the possession of Pandit Siddhiharṣa Vajrācāryya of Nepal. It may be noticed, however, that the right hand which ought to have carried the staff according to the Sādhana, carries a Cakra instead.

(b)

Appearance—terrible. Variety—yab-yum.  
 Faces—three. Arms,—four. Companion—Prajñā.

The form of Yamāri with three faces and four arms looks terrible and awe-inspiring. He is represented in Yab-yum and the Dhyāna describes his form as follows :—

“ ..... Yamāratibhiṣaṇaḥ |  
 Kāthoravarhikaṇṭhābho savye śuklārūṇetarāḥ ||  
 Krodhaparyāṅkayogena viśvābjaraviśamsthitaḥ |  
 Svābha-Vidyādnarāsvādarasāyanamahāsukhaḥ ||  
 Kāthorordhvajjvalatkeśaḥ piṅgabhrūśmaśruloṇaḥ |  
 Phaṇindravṛṇdanepathyo mr̥ṇāladhavaladvijāḥ |  
 Mudgarāśidharaḥ savye vāme rājīvaratnadhr̥k || ”

Sādhana-mālā, A—297, Na—83, C—229.

“ Yamāri is terribly fierce, has the deep (blue) colour of the neck of a peacock, with his right and left faces of white and red colours (respectively). He stands on the sun over a double lotus in an angry attitude. He enjoys the bliss of partaking the nectar which, a sip from the lips of the Prajñā of his own emanation gives. His hair stands on his head in the shape of a flame, and his brows, beard and the eyes are of brown colour. His ornaments are the host of the lords of twice-born serpents, who are white like the stalk of a lotus. He carries in his right hands the Mudgara and the sword and in the left the lotus and the jewel.”

(c)

Āsana—Ālīḍha. Faces—three or six.  
 Arms—six. Variety—single.

The form of Yamāri with three faces and six arms, though equally fierce in appearance as the previous one, is not represented in yab-yum but appears singly. As the information given is of a similar character, we refrain from quoting the Dhyāna. In this case, all the three faces have a protruding tongue, canine teeth, three eyes and contortions of the brows. He has a big belly, is short and dwarfish and wears a garment of tiger-skin. He carries the Vajra, the sword and the Mūṣala in the three right hands and the goblin (Vetāl) the axe and the lasso in the three left. According to a second statement in the Sādhana, he is said to carry the sword, the Mudgara and the Vajra in the three right hands and the Ghaṇṭā, the Vajrapāśa and the Mūṣala in the three left. The same Sādhana further says that

though he is represented generally as three-faced and six-armed, he may also have six faces and six legs with the same weapons. The Dhyāna for the worship of this six-faced and six-legged variety of Yamāntaka runs as follows :—

Yamāntakaṃ kruddhaṃ ūrdhvaśeṣaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ śaḍmukhaṃ śaḍbhujam  
ṣaṭcaraṇaṇca malīṣārūḍhaṃ pratyālīḍhasthitaṃ naramuṇḍacūḍairvibhūṣi-  
taṃ\* atibhayaṇakākāraṃ vyāghracarmanivasanaṃ dakṣiṇe khaḍga-mudgara-  
vajrāṇi, vāme ghaṇṭā-vajrapāśa-mūṣalān dhārayantaṃ, mukute Akṣobhyaṃ  
vibhāvayet.”

Sādhanaṃālā, A—299, Na—39, C—280.

“ The worshipper should realize himself as Yamāntaka, who has angry looks, whose hair rises upwards, who is six-faced, six-armed and six-legged ; who rides the buffalo, stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, is embellished with severed human heads has a very ferocious appearance, is clad in garments of tiger-skin ; who carries in the right hands the Khaḍga, Mudgara and the Vajra and in the left the Ghaṇṭā, the Vajrapāśa, and the Mūṣala and who bears the effigy of Akṣobhya on the crown.”

Excepting one stone image from Nalanda (Plate XXVI, 1)† no other representation has yet been found of this form of Yamāri.

#### 7. JAMBHALA.

Variety—yab-yum.

Faces—three.

Arms—six.

Jambhala has undoubtedly a great antiquity behind him and we have evidence that he existed at a time when the conception of the five Dhyāni Buddhas had not yet been accomplished. This was why he could not be assigned to one particular Dhyāni Buddha from whom he might have originated. In other words, Jambhala is to be taken as a parallel of Mañjuśrī, who, similarly, could not be assigned to one particular Dhyāni Buddha. In the Sādhanaṃālā we find that he may bear the images of Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya, the five Dhyāni Buddhas or Vajrasattva on his head. So, Jambhala will have to be discussed under each of these headings. Images of Jambhala are to be met with in the Gandhara, Mathura, Sarnath, Magadha, Bengal and Nepal sculptures. Here we are concerned only with that variety of Jambhala which bears the image of Akṣobhya on the tiara. He

\* Most of the Mas. read —naramuṇḍarūṇḍair— ; but I have accepted Prof. Fouchers' reading as it seems to be in keeping with the extant images, in which Ruṇḍas or headless bodies are absent altogether.

† First published in A. S. I., Central Circle, *Annual Report*, 1920-21, Plate I, and described on P. 39.

is here three-faced and six-armed and is represented in yab-yum. Though the Dhyāna does not mention his colour, we may suggest that this variety of Jambhala has the blue colour, the colour of the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya from whom he originates. The Dhyāna in the Sādhana-mālā runs as follows :—

“ Jambhalaṃ trimukhaṃ śaḍbhujam Akṣobhyajaṭāmukutaṇaṃ dakṣiṇa-tribhujaiḥ mātulungāṅkuśabhāṇadharaṃ prathamabhujena vāmapārsvasthita-Prajñāliṅgitaṃ : paravāmapabhujābhyāṃ sapāśanakulakārmukadharaṃ ātmānaṃ nīpādya . . . . ”

Sādhana-mālā, A—309, Na—25, C—287.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as Jambhala, three-faced and six-armed, whose crown of chignon bears the image of Akṣobhya : who carries in his three right hands the citron, the goad and the arrow : who embraces in one of his left hands the Prajñā situated in his left and in the other two carries the mongoose [tied round] with a lasso and the arrow. Thus meditating . . . . ”

The accompanying drawing (Plate XXVI, c) though it does not agree in all details with the description given in the Dhyāna, shows how this deity is pictured in modern days by the Newari artists.

#### (ii) Uccuṣma-Jambhala.

Appearance—terrible.

Vāhana—Kuvera vomiting jewels.

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

Identification mark—nude.

Uccuṣma, being a variety of Jambhala, bears also the image of Akṣobhya on his crown : he may, however, have the image of Ratnasambhava instead. Several Sādhana are devoted to his worship, and the Dhyāna describing him with the image of Akṣobhya on his crown runs as follows :—

“ Ātmānaṃ Bhagavantaṃ Uccuṣmaṃ pañcavarṣakumārākṛtiṃ kharvaṃ viśvapadmasthaṃ candropari sarpābharaṇabhūṣitaṃ ratnamukutaṇi muñcadratnamukhapīlāṅgasupta-Dhanadasya [caraṇadvayaṃ dakṣiṇena caraṇena]\* vāmenākṛāntanūrdhvaṃ pratyālīḍhapadaṃ ; nagnaṃ ūrdhvaliṅgaṃ lambodaraṃ ; hr̥di dakṣiṇapāṇisthaṃ raktapūrṇakapālābhimukha-dṛṣṭiṃ ; vāmajaṅghāsaktavāmakareṇa ratnacchaṭodgāryyadhomukhanakulīm aviddhadhollakarpadvayaṃ ardhenduśckharaṃ daṃṣṭrākaraṇālavadaṇaṃ raktavarttulatrinetraṃ kṛtabhr̥kuṭilalāṭaṃ piṅgorddhvakeśaṃ bhūsparśa-mudranīl-Ākṣobhyamunimastakaṃ [dhyāyāt] ”.

Sādhana-mālā, A—217, C—242.†

\* All the mss. read “ dakṣiṇena caraṇena caraṇadvayaṃ.”

† Wanting in N.

though he is represented generally as three-faced and six-armed, he may also have six faces and six legs with the same weapons. The Dhyāna for the worship of this six-faced and six-legged variety of Yamāntaka runs as follows :—

Yamāntakaṃ kruddhaṃ ūrdhvaśeṣaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ śaḍmukhaṃ śaḍbhujam  
ṣaṭcaraṇaṇca malīṣārūḍhaṃ pratyālīḍhasthitaṃ naramuṇḍacūḍairvibhūṣi-  
taṃ\* atibhayaṇakākāraṃ vyāghracarmanivasanaṃ dakṣiṇe khaḍga-mudgara-  
vajrāṇi, vāme ghaṇṭā-vajrapāśa-mūṣalān dhārayantaṃ, mukute Akṣobhyaṃ  
vibhāvayet.”

Sādhanaṃālā, A—299, Na—39, C—280.

“ The worshipper should realize himself as Yamāntaka, who has angry looks, whose hair rises upwards, who is six-faced, six-armed and six-legged ; who rides the buffalo, stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, is embellished with severed human heads has a very ferocious appearance, is clad in garments of tiger-skin ; who carries in the right hands the Khaḍga, Mudgara and the Vajra and in the left the Ghaṇṭā, the Vajrapāśa, and the Mūṣala and who bears the effigy of Akṣobhya on the crown.”

Excepting one stone image from Nalanda (Plate XXVI, 1)† no other representation has yet been found of this form of Yamāri.

#### 7. JAMBHALA.

Variety—yab-yum.

Faces—three.

Arms—six.

Jambhala has undoubtedly a great antiquity behind him and we have evidence that he existed at a time when the conception of the five Dhyāni Buddhas had not yet been accomplished. This was why he could not be assigned to one particular Dhyāni Buddha from whom he might have originated. In other words, Jambhala is to be taken as a parallel of Mañjuśrī, who, similarly, could not be assigned to one particular Dhyāni Buddha. In the Sādhanaṃālā we find that he may bear the images of Ratnasambhava, Akṣobhya, the five Dhyāni Buddhas or Vajrasattva on his head. So, Jambhala will have to be discussed under each of these headings. Images of Jambhala are to be met with in the Gandhara, Mathura, Sarnath, Magadha, Bengal and Nepal sculptures. Here we are concerned only with that variety of Jambhala which bears the image of Akṣobhya on the tiara. He

\* Most of the Mas. read —naramuṇḍarūṇḍair— ; but I have accepted Prof. Fouchers' reading as it seems to be in keeping with the extant images, in which Ruṇḍas or headless bodies are absent altogether.

† First published in A. S. I., Central Circle, *Annual Report*, 1920-21, Plate I, and described on P. 39.



## CHAPTER VI.

### EMANATIONS OF AKSOBHYA (*Continued*).

#### II. GODDESSES.

Comparatively a very large number of goddesses emanate from Akṣobhya. Some of the goddesses are well-known and extremely popular, but to none of these a large number of Sādhana is assigned. We have already seen that the male emanations of this Dhyānī Buddha are always, except in a very few cases, of a terrible and awe-inspiring character. Most of the female emanations also are blue in complexion and partake of the fierce nature of the male ones, though we notice, among others, genuinely peaceful forms, such as, Prajñāpāramitā, Vasudhārā and Mahāmantrānusārīnī. No less than eleven goddesses emanate from the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya and we shall discuss their forms one by one.

#### I. MAHĀCĪNATĀRĀ.

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

Appearance—terrible.

Vāhana—corpse.

Arms—four.

Symbols—*rt.* Sword, *Katri*, *ll.* Uṭpala, Kapāla.

Two Sādhana are devoted to the worship of Mahācīnatārā or Tārā of Mahācīna (Great China), and two Dhyānas, one in prose and the other in verse, describe the goddess in precisely identical forms. She is also known in Buddhist Tāntric literature as Ugratārā and the Vajrayoginī temple at Sāṅku in Nepal contains in the sanctum a figure of Ugratārā. The principal image is always covered under costly garments and with costly ornaments, but when the priests began to recite the Dhyāna, we were left in no doubt whatever that the image was that of Ugratārā. This Ugratārā or Mahācīnatārā of the Buddhists has been incorporated by the Hindus in their Pantheon under the name of Tārā and the latter count her among the ten Mahāvidyā goddesses. The Dhyāna in the Sādhanamālā describes her form in the following words :—

“ Pratyālīḍhapadām ghorām muṇḍamālāpralambitām ।  
Kharvalambodarām bhīmām nilanīrajarājītām ॥  
Tryambakaikamukhām divyām ghorāṭṭahāsabhāsūrām ।  
Suprahṛṣṭām śavārūḍhām nāṣāṣṭakavibhūṣitām ॥  
Raktavarttulanetrāñca vyāghracarmāvītām kaṭau ।  
Navayauvanasampannām pañcamudrāvibhūṣitām ॥

Lalajjihvām mahābhimām sadamṣṭrotkaṭabhīṣaṇām ।  
 Khadgakartrikarām sayye vāmotpalakapāladhām ।  
 Piṅograikajaṭām dhyāyāt maulav-Akṣobhyabhūṣitām ॥

....Mahācīnatārā Sādhanaṃ.”

Sādhana-mālā, A—112, N—80, C—87.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as [Mahācīna-Tārā] who stands in the Pratyālīdha attitude, is awe-inspiring, has garland of heads hanging from the neck, is short and has a protruding belly; who has terrible looks, whose complexion is like that of the blue lotus; who is three eyed, one-faced, celestial and laughs horribly; who, in an intensely pleasant mood, stands on the corpse, is decked in ornaments of snakes, has red and round eyes, wears the garments of tiger-skin round her loins, is in youthful bloom, is endowed with the five auspicious symbols, and has a protruding tongue; who is most terrible, appears fierce with bare canine fangs, carries the sword and the Kartri in the two right hands and the Utpala and the Kapāla in the two left; whose crown of one chignon is brown and fiery and bears the image of Akṣobhya within it.”

This is the Dhyāna we find in the Sādhana-mālā, the earliest manuscript of which belongs to A. D. 1165. According to the Colophon, the Sādhana for Mahācīnatārā has been restored from the Mahācīna-Tantra, which should, therefore, be earlier than the earliest extant manuscript of Sādhana-mālā. As the Sādhana in verse is attributed to Śāśvatavajra, we may be certain that the Dhyāna we have just quoted was not in existence before Śāśvatavajra. Now, in the Tārārahasya of Brahmānanda who flourished in the middle of 16th century \* and in the Tantrasāra of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgama vāgīśa we find almost an identical Dhyāna describing a goddess of the name of Tārā.—

“Pratyālīdhapadām ghorām muṇḍamālāvibhūṣitām ।  
 Kharvām lambodarīm bhīmām vyāghracarmāvṛtām kaṭau ॥  
 Navayauvanasampannām pañcamudrāvibhūṣitām ।  
 Caturbhujām lolajihvām mahābhimām varapradām ॥  
 Khadgakartrisamayukta-savyetarabhujadvayām ।  
 Kapālotpalasamyuktasavyapāṇiyugānvitām ॥  
 Piṅograikajaṭām-dhāyenmaulāv-Akṣobhyabhūṣitām ।  
 Bālārkamaṇḍalākāralocanatrāyabhūṣitām ॥  
 Jalaccitāmadhyagatām ghoradamṣṭrām karālinīm ।  
 Sāveśasmeravadanām śryalāṅkāravibhūṣitām ॥  
 Viśvavyāpakatoyāntaḥ śvetapadmopariśṭitām ।  
 Akṣobhyadevīmūrdhanyastrīmūrtirnāgarūpadhṛk ॥”

Tantrasāra, p. 415 et seqq.

\* Brahmānanda's direct pupil, Pūrṇānanda Paramahansa wrote his work, Tattva-Cintāmaṇi in the Śaka year 1499 i.e. A. D. 1577. Brahmānanda has therefore been placed in the middle of the 16th century. See M. M. Hareprasad Shastri: *Notices of Sanskrit mss.* Second series. Vol. I. p. 130.

A comparison of the two Dhyānas will at once reveal how the original composition of Śāśvatavajra has been modified in the Tantrasāra in the light of a Hindu Tāntric Paṇḍit. Some lines have been added to the original Dhyāna and all the grammatical errors have been rectified : and this seems to be the process of Hinduizing a Buddhist Tāntric deity. It is remarkable that the Hindus retained in their Dhyāna the crest of Akṣobhya which fact at once bespeaks the Buddhist origin of the goddess ; for, we know for certain that none of the Hindu gods or goddesses are in the habit of wearing a miniature figure of their sires on the crown. Moreover, Akṣobhya is unknown in the Hindu Pantheon except when he is borrowed from the Buddhists,—and the Hindus fail to explain the desirability of putting in his figure on the crown of Tārā.

The accompanying sketches (Plate XXVII,a-b) portray the Buddhist form of Tārā or Mahācinatārā and shows in what different forms she is represented in Nepal in modern times. It may be pointed out that the corpse under the feet of the Hindu Tārā is not a corpse properly speaking, but it is the form of Mahādeva's deadbody, to whom she is attached as a Śakti.

## 2. JĀṄGULĪ.

Jāṅgulī is widely worshipped amongst the Buddhists as a goddess who cures snake-bite and can prevent it. According to a Saṅgīti in the Sādhana-mālā she is as old as Buddha himself, and the secret of Jāṅgulī and the mantras for her worship are said to have been imparted to Ānanda by Lord Buddha. Besides, the Saṅgīti, four Sādhanas describe the procedure of her worship and give elaborate mantras for the extraction of poison from the body of the snake-bitten. These four Sādhanas describe three entirely different forms of Jāṅgulī, two with one face and four arms and one with three faces and six arms.

(i)

Colour—white.

Identification Symbol—Vipā in the two principal hands.

Symbol—snake.

Mudrā—Abhaya.

In two Sādhanas Jāṅgulī is described as having one face and four arms. In both cases she is alike in all respects except in the matter of the weapons she carries in her hands. In one, the Dhyāna is as follows :—

“Ātmānaṃ Ārya-Jāṅgulīrūpāṃ sarvasuklāṃ caturbhujāṃ ekamukhāṃ  
jaṭāmukutīṇīṃ śuklottariyāṃ sitaratnālaṅkārabhūṣitāṃ śuklasarpavibhūṣitāṃ

sattvaparyankamāviṣṭām, mūlabhujābhyām vīṇām vādayantīm, aparadāk-  
ṣiṇenābhyapradām candrāṃsumālinīm dhyāyāt....”

Sādhana-mālā. A—188, N—97, C—106.

“The worshipper should meditate himself as Ārya Jāṅgulī who is all white in complexion, four-armed, one-faced, has the crown of chignon, wears white scarf, is decked in white ornaments of gems and white serpents and rests on an animal; who plays on the Vīṇā with the two principal hands, carries the white snake in the second left and exhibits the Abhaya mudrā with the second right and is radiant like the moon.”

In a second Sādhana she is said to exhibit the Varada Mudrā in the second right hand. The accompanying sketch (Plate XXVII,c) shows how she is represented in Nepal.

(ii)

Colour—green.

Mudrā—Abhaya.

Symbols—Trīśūla, peacock's tail and snake.

The second variety resembles the first in many respects. But in the Sādhana there is no mention of the animal-seat or the particular Āsana in which Jāṅgulī should stand or sit. The symbols are also different. In this case she will carry the Trīśūla, the peacock's tail, the snake and exhibit the Abhaya Mudrā.

(iii)

Faces—three.

Arms—six.

Vāhana—snake.

Colour—yellow.

The third variety of Jāṅgulī will have three faces and six arms. Two Sādhana in the Sādhana-mālā, one in prose and the other in verse, describe this form. The Dhyāna contained in one of these runs as follows:—

“Ārya-Jāṅgulīm ātmānam jhātīti nispādayet, pītām trimukhām ṣaḍ-  
bhujām nīlasitadakṣiṇetaravadanām khaḍgavajrahāṇadakṣiṇahastatrayām  
satarjanīpāśaṣaṇḍapuspakārmukavāmākaratrayām sphītapāṇāmaṇḍalaśīraḥ-  
sarpasthām divyavastrābharaṇabhūṣitām kumārīlakṣaṇojjvalām Akṣobhyā-  
krāntamastakām dhyātvā....”

Sādhana-mālā, A—181, N—95, C—104.

“The worshipper should quickly conceive himself as Ārya Jāṅgulī, who is yellow in complexion, three-faced, and six armed; whose faces to the right and left are blue and white; who carries the sword, the Vajra, and the arrow

in the three right hands, and the Tarjanī with the noose, the blue lotus and the bow in the three left hands ; who rests on the expanded hood of the serpent, is decked in celestial ornaments and dress, is resplendent with the auspicious marks of a virgin and bears the image of Akṣobhya on head. Thus meditating....”

The Hindu goddess Manasā or Viṣaharī has a marked resemblance to the appearance of Jāṅguli, and some of the Dhyānas in the Hindu Tāntric works for the goddess distinctly give her the epithet of “ Jāṅguli.”

### 3. EKAJAṬĀ.

Colour—blue.

Appearance—terrible.

Attitude—Pratyālīḍha.

Ekajaṭā is one of the most powerful goddesses in the Vajrayānic Pantheon. If a man listens to her Mantra but once, he is at once freed from all obstacles and is attended always with good fortune ; his enemies are destroyed and he becomes religiously inclined, even attaining the level of a Buddha.\* Four Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā devoted to the worship of Ekajaṭā, describe four different variations of the goddess. She may have one face with two, four or eight arms, or she may be twelve-faced with twenty four arms.

The main features of the goddess are given in one of the Sādhanas, the Colophon of which asserts that the Sādhana has been restored from Tibet by Ārya Nāgārjuna,† who was famous in the mediaeval ages as one of eight Siddhapuruṣas of India. The general description of the goddess appearing in it is quoted as follows :—

“ Kṛṣṇavarṇāḥ matāḥ sarvāḥ vyāghracarmāvr̥tā kaṭau |  
Ekavaktrā trinetraśca piṅgordhvakeśamūrdhajāḥ ||  
Kharvā lambodarā raudrāḥ pratyālīḍhapadasthitāḥ |  
Saroṣakarālavaktrāḥ muṇḍamālāpralambitāḥ ||  
Kuṇapasthā mahābhīmā maulāv-Akṣobhyabhūsitāḥ |  
Navayauvanasampannāḥ ghorāṭṭahāsabhāsurāḥ ||  
Viśvapaḍmopari sūryya cintanīyāḥ prayatnataḥ ||”

Sādhanamālā. A—141, Na—18-14, C—112.

\* Cf.—“ Devyā Ekajaṭayāstu mantrarājo mahāvalaḥ |  
Asya śravaṇa-nātreṇa nirbhīno jāyate naraḥ ||  
Saubhāgyaṃ jāyate nityaṃ vilayaṃ yānti śatravaḥ |  
Dharmaskandho bhavennityaṃ Buddhatulyo na saṃśayaḥ ||”

† The Colophon is—“Ārya-Nāgārjunapādaiḥ Bhoṭeṣūddhṛtaṃ iti.”

"All these [three] variations [of Ekajaṭā] are of blue colour, have the tiger-skin round their loins, are one-faced, three-eyed, have brown hair rising upwards on head, are short, pot-bellied, wrathful and stand in the Pratyāliḍha attitude; they have faces distorted with anger, and garlands of heads hanging from their necks, rest on corpses, have terrible appearance, bear the image of Akṣobhya on the crown, have youthful bloom and laugh horribly; and they should be conceived on the orb of the sun over the double lotus."

This general description only applies to the following three varieties of Ekajaṭā with one face and two, four or eight arms—

(i) When two-armed, she will carry the Kartri and the Karoṭa (skull cup) in her two hands. (Plate XXVII,d).\*

(ii) When four-armed, Ekajaṭā carries the arrow and the sword in the two right hands and the bow and the skull in the two left. In two other Sādhanaś describing the four-armed variety, she is represented with slight modifications. Here she holds in the first pair of hands the Kapāla and the Kartri while the other pair shows the Utpala and the sword†; she may hold also the rosary instead of the sword. (Plate XXVIII,a).†

(iii) When eight-armed, she carries the sword, the arrow, the Vajra and Kartri in the four right hands and the bow, the Utpala, the Paraśu and the skull in the four left hands.

#### (iv) Vidyujjālākārālī.

Faces—twelve.	Arms—twenty-four.
Colour—blue.	Āsana—Pratyāliḍha.
Vāhana—Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.	

#### Symbols—

<i>Right.</i>		<i>Left.</i>	
1. Khaḍga.	7. Dart.	1. Bow.	7. Caṣaka.
2. Vajra.	8. Mudgara.	2. Noose.	8. Utpala.
3. Cakra.	9. Mūṣala.	3. Tarjanī.	9. Bell.
4. Jewel.	10. Kartri.	4. Banner.	10. Paraśu.
5. Aṅkuśa.	11. Damaru.	5. Mace.	11. Brahmaśiraḥ.
6. Arrow.	12. Rosary.	6. Trisūla.	12. Kapāla.

The fourth variety of Ekajaṭā is known as Vidyujjālākārālī, who is said to have originated from the sweat of Buddha. This form of Ekajaṭā with

\* The photograph represents Ekajaṭā as the companion of Khadiravanī Tārā in an image belonging to the Indian Museum (*Infra*. Pl. XXXIII,c).

† A Nepalese drawing of the four-armed variety of Ekajaṭā is reproduced as a specimen.

twelve faces and twenty-four arms is rarely met with in sculptures or in bronzes.\* The Dhyāna is somewhat long and it describe the goddess in the following terms :—

“Dvādaśamukhām mahākṛṣṇavarṇām caturvīṃśatibhujām caturmārasa-  
mākrāntām śvetakapālopari pratyāliḍhapadām, mahāpralayāgnisamaṇḍalāṃ  
vivṛtāsyām hāhākārām lalajjihvām saroṣām vikṛtakotiḥhīmatatābhṛneta-  
caladvartulām, bhṛyasyāpi bhayaṅkarīm, kapālamālā śīrasi bhūṣitām, vyāḍai-  
ralaṅkṛtām śaṇmudropetām, prathamamukhaṃ mahākṛṣṇaṃ, tathā dakṣiṇa-  
mukhapāṇīkaṃ sitapīṭaharitaraktadhūmravarṇaṇīka, vāmamukhapāṇīkaṃ  
raktasitapīṭaharitasitaraktaṇīka; ūrdhvamukhaṃ dhūmrāṃ, vikṛtām, krud-  
dhaṃ; sarvamukhāni daṃṣṭrākārālavadanāni, trinetrāni, jvalitordhva-  
piṅgalakeśāni; kharvalarībodarīm pīṇonnatapayodharām vyāghracarma-  
nivasanām; dakṣiṇadvādaśabhujesu khaḍga-vajra-cakra-ratnacchaṭāṅkuṣa-  
śara-śakti-mudgara-mūṣala-kartri-damaru-akṣamālīkāṇīka, vāmadvādaśabhu-  
jeṣu dhanuḥ-pāṣa-tarjanī-patākā-gadā-triśūla-caśaka-utpala-ghaṇṭā-parāṣu-  
Brahmaśīrah-kapālāṇīka—

Suprahr̥ṣṭām śavārūdhūṃ nāgāṣṭakavibhūṣitām ।  
Navayauvanasampannām hāhātṭahāsabhāsūrām ॥  
Piṅograikajaṭām dhyāyāt maulāv-Akṣobhyabhūṣitām ॥

Iti Vidyujjvālākārālīnāmaikajaṭasādhanam.”

Sādhanaṃ. A—136-37, Na- 12, C- 108-9.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as [Vidyujjvālākārālī], who has twelve faces, deep blue colour and twenty-four arms; who tramples upon the four Māras [Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra], stands on the white skulls in the Pratyāliḍha attitude, is terrible like the Fire of Destruction, has a wide open mouth from which comes the sounds of ‘hā,’ ‘hā;’ who has protruding tongue, is wrathful, has eyes round and moving, and whose forehead is distorted owing to the frequent contortions of the brows; who is more awe-inspiring than Awe itself, whose head is decorated with a garland of skulls, who is decked in ornaments of snake, and is endowed with the six auspicious symbols; whose first face is of deep blue colour and the five faces to the right have respectively white, yellow, green, red and the colour of smoke, while the five faces to the left have red, white, yellow, green and whitish red colour; the face on the top is of the colour of smoke, distorted and displays anger; all his faces look terrible with bare fangs and three eyes; whose brown hair rises upwards in the shape of a flame, who is short and has protruding belly; whose breasts are full and heaving; who is clad in tiger-skin, carries in her twelve right hands, the sword, the thunderbolt, the discus, the jewel, the elephant-goad, the arrow, the dart, the hammer, the pestle, the saw, the drum and the rosary, and in the twelve left hands the bow,

\* I brought, however, a painting of this goddess from Nepal and published it in tri-colour with my remarks, in the vernacular monthly. Māsika Vasumatī, Vol. 1, part 12.

the noose, the raised index finger, the flag, the mace, the trident, the bowl, the blue lotus, the bell, the axe, the severed head of **Brahmā**,\* and a skull.....; who is extremely happy, rides a corpse, is decked in ornaments of eight snakes, is youthful, appears resplendent with terrible laugh, wears the crown of one chignon, which is brown and fiery, and which bears the image of **Akṣobhya** on it."

Here ends the **Sādhana** for **Vidyujjvālākārālī**, another form of **Ekajaṭā**."

#### 1. **PARNAŚAVARĪ.**

Colour—yellow.

Faces—three.

Arms—six.

Symbols—*rt.* Vajra, *Paruśu*, arrow ; *lt.* *Tarjanīpāśu*, cluster of leaves, bow.

Āsana—*Pratyāliḍha*.

Vāhana—*Bighna*.

Identification mark—pleasant smile in the face.

The worship of **Parnaśavarī**, it is believed, is efficacious against the outbreak of epidemics and it assures safety to the terror-stricken. The epithet 'Piśācī' given in the Mantra shows that she was regarded as one of the semi-human supernatural beings. Two **Sādhana**s in the **Sāadhanamālā** describe two forms of this goddess, one with the image of **Akṣobhya** on the crown and the other with that of **Amoghasiddhi**. In one, her faces depict pleasant smile and in another she smiles but has an irritated expression all the same. The followers of the **Akṣobhya** cult believed her to be an emanation of **Akṣobhya**, while the followers of the **Amoghasiddhi** cult believed her to be an emanation of **Amoghasiddhi**. Curiously enough, the two images that we have been able to discover in Eastern Bengal both have the image of **Amoghasiddhi** on the crown. It may also be possible that she has been associated with **Amoghasiddhi** because of her green colour; while the form with yellow colour has been assigned to **Akṣobhya**. It would have been more reasonable to assign the latter to **Ratnasambhava**, who has yellow complexion and whose emanations generally have the yellow colour. The **Dhyāna** describing **Parnaśavarī** with yellow colour and the image of **Akṣobhya** on crown, runs as follows :—

"**Bhagavatīm pītavarṇām trimukhām trinetrām śaḍbhujām prathamamukham pītam, dakṣiṇām sitam, vānam raktam, lalitahāsinīm sarvālaṅkāradharām parnapicchikāvasānam navayauvanoddhatām pīṇām, dakṣiṇabhujaiḥ vajraparaśuśaradhāriṇīm, vārabhujaiḥ satarjanīkāpāśaparnapicchikāḍhanur-**

\* **Brahmā**, it may be pointed out, belongs to the Hindu Pantheon, and is endowed with four faces. He is one of the three highest gods of the Hindus, and the Buddhists, in their hatred towards them, makes several of their deities trample upon **Brahmā** and others, or carry his severed head in one of their hands.



dhāriṇīm puspāvabaddhajaṭāmukutaṣṭha-Akṣobhyadhāriṇīm sūryyaprabhā-  
maṇḍalinīm, adho bighnān nipātya sitapadmacandrāsane pratyālīḍhasthūṃ,  
hṛdvāmamuṣṭitarjanyādho bighnagaṇān santarjya dakṣiṇavajramuṣṭiprahārā-  
bhīnayām....bhāvayet....

Parṇaśavarīsādhanaṃ.” Sādhanaṃālā, A—161, N—122, C—180.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as [Parṇaśavari] of yellow complexion, with three faces, three eyes and six arms ; whose first face is blue, the right white and the left red ; who smiles in a pleasing manner, is decked in all sorts of ornaments, wears the apron of leaves, is haughty with youthful bloom, is stout in appearance, carries in her right hands the Vajra, the Paraśu and the arrow and in the left the Tarjanī with the noose, the cluster of leaves and the bow ; whose crown of chignon is decorated with flowers and the image of Akṣobhya ; who has the effulgence of the sun as her aureole, stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude on the moon over the white lotus, trampling under her feet the *Bighnas*, threatens the host of [other] *Bighnas* with the clenched fist of the left hand exhibiting the Tarjanī against the breast, and who shakes her right fist at [the host of the *Bighnas*]....”

The mutilated image (Plate XXVIII, b) in the Indian Museum with three faces and six arms trampling upon Gaṇeśa probably represents this form of Parṇaśavari as the word “*Bighna*” in the Sādhanaṃālā often refers to Gaṇeśa.\*

The Sādhana, referred to above, further gives us the information that Parṇaśavari may have an alternative form with four arms and the image of Akṣobhya on the crown. In that case she will carry the Vajra and the Paraśu in the two right hands and the Tarjanī with the noose, and the cluster of leaves in the two left, omitting the bow and the arrow.

##### 5. PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ.

Prajñāpāramitā is the embodiment of the Mahāyāna Scripture of the same name which was, according to the Buddhist tradition, restored from the nether regions by Nāgārjuna in the second century A. D. Buddha is said to have kept this Book of Transcendental Knowledge under the care of the Nāgas in the nether regions, as in his time people were not sufficiently intelligent to grasp the true meaning of the doctrines embodied in it. The worship of Prajñāpāramitā was very popular among the Buddhists, and Ārya Asaṅga is credited to have composed one of the Sādhanaṃs for her worship, which is said

\* See for instance, the image of Bighnāntaka (Plate XXXIX, b) trampling upon “*Bighna*” or Gaṇeśa.

to confer wisdom and erudition to her devotees. Nine Sādhana in the Sāadhanamālā describe the procedure of her worship, and out of these only two are assigned to the cult of Akṣobhya. Like Mañjuśrī, she has also a long antiquity and it is for this reason that she could not likewise be assigned to one particular Dhyānī Buddha, as the conception of the Dhyānī Buddhas was not in existence when Prajñāpāramitā scripture was restored from the nether regions by Nāgārjuna. The two Sādhana describe the white and the yellow varieties of the goddess.

(i) Sitaprajñāpāramitā.

Colour—white.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.

Symbols—lotus and book.

Only one Sādhana in the Sāadhanamālā describes the form of white Prajñāpāramitā with the image of Akṣobhya on the crown. She is two-armed, one faced, sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on the white lotus and carries the red lotus in the right hand and the Prajñāpāramitā Book in the left. She is decked in all sorts of ornaments and has a beautiful and pleasant appearance unlike other emanations of Akṣobhya. The Dhyāna runs as follows :—

“Dvibhujāṃ ekavadanāṃ sitavarṇāṃ manoramāṃ ।  
Ardhacarakeśīṇā śvetāmbhoruhasaṃsthitāṃ ॥  
Padmaṃ dakṣiṇahaste tu raktavarṇāṃ vibhāvayet ।  
Prajñāpāramitāṃ vācā vajraparyāṅkasamsthitāṃ ॥  
Sarvālaṅkārasampūrṇāṃ bhāvayennābhimaṇḍale ।  
Aṅkarajñānasambhūtāṃ paramānandakāriṇīṃ ॥

....Akṣobhyamudritā ceyam. Sitaprajñāpāramitāsāadhanam.”

Sāadhanamālā. A—168, N—128, C—182.

The worshipper should meditate on the form of Sita-Prajñāpāramitā in the navel, as two-armed, one faced, white in colour, and beautiful in appearance, with half curly hair ; as sitting on the white lotus, carrying in her right hand the red lotus and the Prajñāpāramitā Book in the left ; as sitting in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude, decked in all ornaments, originating from the knowledge of the letter ‘Am’ and bringing in immense delight . . . This goddess is stamped with the image of Akṣobhya [on the crown].”

(ii) *Pītaprajñāpāramitā*.

Colour—yellow.

Mudrā—*Vyākhyāna*.

Distinctive mark—Book on lotus to the left.

The yellow variety of *Prajñāpāramitā* with the crest of *Akṣobhya* is identical in form with the one described above, except with regard to the colour and the *Mudrā*. She is yellow in complexion, bears the crest of *Akṣobhya* on her crown of chignon, wears celestial ornaments and garments, and displays the *Vyākhyāna* pose in her two hands. On a lotus in her left rests the scripture, *Prajñāpāramitā*.

The celebrated image of *Prajñāpāramitā* (Plate XXVII,c)\* of Java belongs to this variety, and tallies in all details with the description given in the *Dhyāna*.

6. *VAJRACARCIKĀ*.*Āsana*—Dancing in *Ardhaparyāṅka*.

Arms—six.

Symbols—*right*. *Vajra*, *Khaḍga*, *Cakra*. *left*. *Kapāla*, jewel, lotus.

Colour—red.

Distinctive feature—emaciated body.

*Vāhana*—corpse.

Appearance—terrible.

Only one *Sādhana* in the *Sādhanamālā* describe the form of *Vajracarcikā*, and the *Dhyāna* contained therein runs as follows :—

*Vajracarcikāṃ trinetraṃ cakṣurārdhaparyāṅkatāṇḍavāṃ mṛta-kāśanasthāṃ kṛṣṇāṅgīm daṃṣṭrotkaṭabhairavāṃ naraśiromālāvibhūṣitakaṇṭha-deśāṃ Akṣobhyamukutīṇiṃ vyāghracārmanivasanāṃ muktakeśiṃ śaḍbhujāṃ, dakṣiṇe vajrakhaḍgacakra dhāriṇiṃ, vāme kapālaṃ nikaṃḍaladharāṃ rakta-varṇāṃ, karmānurūpaṭaḥ śuklādivarṇayuktāṇca dhyātūṃ...*"

*Sādhanamālā*, A 211, Na—14-15, C—169.

"The worshipper should conceive himself as *Vajracarcikā*, who is three-eyed and one-faced, dances in the *Ardhaparyāṅka* attitude on a corpse, is emaciated in appearance and looks terrible with bare fangs; whose neck is embellished by a garland of human heads, who is decked in ornaments of bones, is endowed with the five auspicious symbols, bears the image of *Akṣobhya* on the crown, is clad in garments of tiger-skin and has dishevelled

\* Published in Havell : *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate XIV.

hair ; who is six-armed and carries in her three right hands the Vajra, the sword and the Cakra, and in the left the Kapāla, the jewel and the lotus ; who has red complexion but gets white and other colours in accordance with the different purposes for which she is invoked. Thus meditating....”

From the accompanying sketch (Plate XXVIII,d) her terrible form with emaciated body would at once be apparent. The skeleton of the fleshless body shows through the skin in all its nakedness. She appears more fierce because of her vulture-like claws.

### 7. MAHĀMANTRĀNUSĀRIṆĪ.

Colour—blue. Arms—four. Mudrā—Varada.  
Symbols—Vajra, Paraśu and noose.

The remarks made in the case of Mahāsītavatī, an emanation of Amitābha and one of the Pañcarakṣā goddesses, apply to the case of Mahāmantrānusārīṇī also. This goddess is another of the Pañcarakṣā goddesses and as her colour is blue, she affiliates herself to the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya. Only one short Sādhana describe her form and the Dhyāna contained therein is as follows :—

Mahāmantrānusārīṇī caturbhujaikamukhī kṛṣṇā dakṣiṇabhujadvaye vajravaradavatī vāmbhujadvaye paraśupāśavatī Humkāravijā Akṣobhya-kirīṭinī sūryyāsanaprabhā cetī.”

Sāghanamālā, A --215, Na—17, C—171.

“Mahāmantrānusārīṇī is four-armed and one-faced, is blue in complexion, shows in her two right hands the Vajra and the Varada Mudrā and in the two left the Paraśu and the noose : she originates from the syllable “Hum,” bears the image of Akṣobhya on the crown, sits on and glows like the sun.”

### 8. MAHĀPRATYĀNGIRĀ.

Colour—blue. Arms—six.  
Symbols—right. Khaḍga, Ankuśa, Varadamudrā,  
left. Tarjanpāśa, red lotus, Trisūla.

One short Sādhana in the Sāghanamālā is assigned to Mahāpratyāngirā. The Dhyāna describing her form is as follows :—



“Mahāpratyāṅgirā kṛṣṇā śadbhujaikamukhā khaḍgāṅkuśavaradada-kṣiṇahastā raktapadmatriśūlahṛdayasthasapāsātarjanīyuktavāmahastā Hūm-vijā Akṣobhyamukutā sarvālaṅkāravatī rūpayauvanasampannā...”

Sādhana-mālā. A—215-16, Na—18, C—172.

“Mahāpratyāṅgirā is blue in colour, six-armed, one-faced, carries in her right hands the sword, the goad and exhibits the Varada Mudrā, and in the left the Tarjanī with the noose against the breast, the red lotus and the trident ; she originates from the syllable ‘Hūm’, bears the image of Akṣobhya on the crown, is decked in all ornaments and is young and beautiful.”

The accompanying sketches (Plate XXIX, a-b) represent Mahāpratyāṅgira and answers to the description given in the Sādhana. The Nepalese image reproduced in Plate XXIX, c with innumerable heads and arms is also worshipped as Mahāpratyāṅgirā. But we have not yet succeeded in finding a Dhyāna for Mahāpratyāṅgirā which corresponds to the image illustrated.

#### 9. DHVAJĀGRAKEYŪRĀ.

Two Sādhana in the Sādhana-mālā describe two widely different forms of Dhvajāgrakeyūrā. In one, the crest of Akṣobhya is mentioned but in another, it is not expressly mentioned. The weapons in both cases are different. In one, she is three-faced and in another four-faced. The two forms agree, however, in all other respects.

(i)

Colour—blue.	Faces—three.	Arms—four.
Appearance—terrible.	Asana—Pratyālīḍha.	
Symbols— <i>right</i> Khaḍga and Pāśa. <i>left</i> Khaṭvāṅga and Cakra.		

The Dhyāna describing Dhvajāgrakeyūrā with three faces and four arms and with the crest of Akṣobhya runs as follows :—

“Dhvajāgrakeyūrā kṛṣṇā trimukhī ceturbhujā raktaśyāmadakṣiṇavāma-mukhī khaḍgapāsadhāridakṣiṇakaradvayā vajrāṅkitakhaṭvāṅgacakravāma-hastadvayā ūrdhvaṅgalakeśī śuṣkapañcamuṇḍālaṅkāśīraskā vyāghrā-jinavasānā daṁṣṭrākarālamukhī pralambodari pratyālīḍhapadā sūryyāsana-prabhā pīṭavastṛakañcukinī Hūmbijā Akṣobhyamukutā.”

Sādhana-mālā. A—216, Na—18, C—172.

“Dhvajāgrakeyūrā is blue in colour, three-faced, and four-armed with the right and left faces having red and green colour (respectively). She carries the sword and the noose in the two right hands, and the Khaṭvāṅga surmounted by a Vajra and the Cakra in the two left, has brown hair rising upwards on her head which is embellished by a row of five shrivelled up heads, wears garments of tiger-skin, and has faces distorted with bare fangs. She has protruding belly, stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, has the seat of and glows like the sun, wears yellow garment and jacket, originates from the syllable ‘Hum’ and bears the image of Akṣobhya on the crown.”

(ii)

Faces—four.                      Arms—four.                      Colour—yellow.  
 Symbols—right sword, Cakra. left Tarjanīpāśa and Mūśala.

As already pointed out, Dhvajāgrakeyūrā may have another form, with four faces and four arms. She has yellow complexion instead of blue, carries the sword and the Cakra in the two right hands and the Tarjanīpāśa, and the Mūśala surmounted by a Vajra in the two left. A Trisūla hangs from her left shoulder. Her first face is yellow, left red, right white and the face above is distorted and has the colour of the smoke. In all other respects, she is identical with the one described before.

The accompanying drawing (Plate XXIX,d) portrays Dhvajāgrakeyūrā as she is represented in Nepal in modern times.

#### 10. VASUDHĀRĀ.

Mudrā—Varada.                      Symbol—ears of corn.                      Colour—yellow.

Vasudhārā figures in the Pantheon of the Mahāyāna Buddhists as the consort of Jambhala, the Buddhist God of Wealth. Only three Sādhanaś are devoted to her worship, and in one of these only is she said to bear the image of Akṣobhya. In two others, she is assigned to the Dhyāni Buddha Ratna-sambhava. It may be noticed by the way that Vasudhārā has a greater antiquity than the Dhyāni Buddhas themselves.\* The Dhyāna describing the goddess with the figure of Akṣobhya on the crown runs as follows :—

\* This is the reason why she has not been assigned to one particular Dhyāni Buddha. Followers of different cults assigned Vasudhārā to different Dhyāni Buddhas.



[Ātmānaṃ] Vasudhārāṃ Bhagavatīm dhyāyāt, kanakavarṇāṃ sakalāla-  
ṅkāravatīm dviraṣṭavarṣākṛtīm, dakṣiṇakarcṇa varadāṃ, vāmakarcṇa dhānya-  
mañjarīdharāṃ, Akṣobhavadhārīṇīm. Purato Bhagavatīm Śrīvasuṃ, dakṣiṇato  
Vasuśrīvaṃ, paścimataḥ Śrīvasumukhīm, vāmato Vasumatīśrīvaṃ ; etāścānya-  
kṣaravijāḥ svañyikāsamānarūpāḥ cintānīyāḥ.”

Sādhana-mālā. A—228, Na—1, C—181.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as the goddess Vasudhārā of golden complexion, who is decked in all sorts of ornaments, appears like a young girl of twice eight years, exhibits the Varada Mudrā in the right hand, carries the ears of corn in the left, and bears the image of Akṣobhya (on the crown). In front of the goddess should be conceived Śrīvasu, in the right Vasuśrī, in the west Śrīvasumukhī and in the left Vasumatīśrī. These four goddesses originate from the first syllables of their names and are identical in form with the principal goddess.”

## 11. NAIRĀTMĀ.

Āsana—Dancing in Ardhaparyāṅka.

Colour—blue.

Appearance—terrible.

Vāhana—corpse lying on its back.

Symbols—Kartri and Kapāla.

Identification symbol—Khaṭvāṅga to the left.

Two Sādhana in the Sādhana-mālā describe her form, which is in many respects, similar to the form of Vajravārāhī with the Kartri and the Kapāla. In fact we can only distinguish between the two by noticing the corpse only. When it lies on its breast we must identify the goddess as Vajravārāhī. But if the corpse lies on its *back* the goddess is Nairātmā. There are, however, other features also for distinguishing between their forms. Vajravārāhī, being an emanation of Vairocana, should bear the image of Vairocana on the crown ; but Nairātmā being an emanation of Akṣobhya should bear the image of Akṣobhya on the crown. Moreover, the excrescence near the right ear of Vajravārāhī must also be absent in the case of Nairātmā. In all other respects the two resemble each other remarkably. The Dhyāna in one of the two Sādhana describes the form of Nairātmā in the following terms :—

“Śavahrcandrasthārdhaparyāṅkeṇa nāṭyasthitāṃ Nairātmāṃ kṛṣṇāṃ  
ekamukhāṃ ūrdhvaṅgalakeśāṃ Akṣobhyamukutīṇīm daṃṣṭrākaraṇalalala-  
jjihvāṃ, dakṣiṇena kartridhārīṇīm, vāmc kapālakhaṭvāṅgadhārīṇīm, rakta-  
vartulatrinetraṃ pañcamudrāvibhūṣaṇāṃ [dhyāyāt.]”

Sādhana-mālā. A—244, Na—56, C—198.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as Nairātmā who stands in Ardhaparyāṅka in a dancing attitude on the moon over the breast of a corpse,

is blue in complexion, has brown hair rising upwards, and bears the image of Akṣobhya on the crown ; whose face looks terrible with bare fangs and protruding tongue ; who carries the Kartri in the right hand and bears the Kapāla and the Khaṭvāṅga in the left ; whose three eyes are red and round, and who is endowed with the five auspicious symbols."

The word 'Nairātmā' means 'having no soul' and is another name for Sūnya in which the Bodhisattva merges when the Nirvāṇa has been attained. Gradually the conception of Śūnya took the form of a goddess in whose embrace the Bodhisattva is said to remain in eternal bliss and happiness. Nairātmā gets the blue colour, because the colour of Śūnya according to the Buddhist tradition, is like the colour of the sky, which is blue.

The Indian Museum image No. 3941 (Plate XXX,a)\* is the only image that we know, of this goddess. Here the goddess, in accordance with the Dhyāna, has a terrible appearance with canine teeth, garland of heads and three eyes rolling in anger. She stands on the corpse lying on its back and dances in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude. Burning flames radiate from her person, and her hair rises upwards in the shape of a flame. She is decked in the five auspicious symbols, the Kaṇṭhikā (torque), Rucaka (bracelets), Ratna (jewels), Mekhalā (girdle) and Bhaṣma (ashes) or the Sūtra (sacred thread) in the form of a garland of heads. She bears the image of her sire, Akṣobhya on the crown, and carries the menacing Kartri in the right hand. The left hand

\* I offer this identification with some diffidence in view of the fact that Mr. B. C. Bhattacharyya, M.A. has identified the image differently in this recent treatise on *Indian Images* Part I, "Based on Genetic, Comparative and Synthetic Principles," published by Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co. The Kartri carried in the right hand of the goddess has been transformed by Mr. Bhattacharyya as Karpikā (not kartrikā ?) or the branch of a palm tree. I am afraid it is a rather cruel strain on the credulity of the readers to ask them to see a palm leaf where nothing else but a clear knife is to be seen. The Dhyānas quoted by Mr. Bhattacharyya in support of his identification of the goddess as Kālī hardly explain a single feature of the figure. The attitude, the rod that hangs from her left shoulder, the miniature figure on the crown of the goddess—none has been explained by the Dhyānas. The failure of Mr. Bhattacharyya to recognize the figure of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya on the crown of the image is indeed amazing! In this connection the following quotation from his *Preface* would be of considerable interest to Iconographers: "The experience of the author has gone far to confirm this statement. It is not that the layman who holds this view has any special *penchant* for things Buddhist, spiritual or physical ; it is simply that he is unable to distinguish a Hindu image from a Buddhist image,.... The author in the following pages has attempted a systematic and critical study of those images which on fundamental grounds cannot be designated otherwise than as purely Hindu or Brahmanic." *Preface* p. c. pp. 40-41, and Pl. XXV.

The above is only another instance of the danger of working in hurry in a difficult field with insufficient materials and training, of the ludicrousness of a pompous display of 'Genetic, Comparative and Synthetic' principles, where such mistakes can be committed, and of the unavailing vanity of roundly condemning laymen, without oneself being sure that he has risen above the level.



carrying the Kapāla is broken. The Khaṭvāṅga as usual hangs from her left shoulder.

The Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat bronze (Plate XXX,b) herewith illustrated for the first time, presents an interesting problem to Iconographers. It was at first taken to be an image of Vajravārāhī,—but as the Kartri is not surmounted by a Vajra, the excrescence near the right ear is absent, and as the corpse on which the goddess stands does not lie on its breast, the identification could not stand. The suggestion that the image might be one of Vajrayoginī did not also find favour, as the corpse in this case also should lie on its breast. Moreover, all the Dhyānas for Vajrayoginī unanimously attribute the Alīḍha attitude, instead of the dancing attitude in Ardha-paryāṅka, which is to be seen in this bronze figure. The fact seems to be that the image really represents Nairātmā without the crest of Akṣobhya and that the Khaṭvāṅga which should hang from her left shoulder is lost, in the same way as small weapons in Nepalese or Darjeeling bronzes are often found missing.

## CHAPTER VII.

### EMANATIONS OF VAIROCAṆA.

According to the *Sādhana-mālā*, all emanations of Vairocana are feminine and no male deity emanates from him. Five goddesses are given the image of Vairocana on the crown, thereby showing that they are all emanations of that particular Dhyāni Buddha. Some of these goddesses are expressly stated in the *Sādhana*s to be "Vairocana-kulodbhavā," meaning, "born of the family of Vairocana." The goddesses that emanate from this Dhyāni Buddha are said to reside in the interior of the Caitya. Vairocana, it may be remembered, is the lord of the sanctum of the temples, and it is natural for the deities emanating from him to reside therein. Among the five goddesses emanating from Vairocana, Mārīcī is most important and popular, who is sometimes believed to be the consort of Vairocana. Vairocana is distinguished from the other Dhyāni Buddhas by the white complexion and the Dharmacakra Mudrā displayed in his two hands.

#### 1. Mārīcī.

Mārīcī is invoked by the Lāmās of Tibet at the advent of the morning, showing her connection with the sun. Like the Hindu Sun-god, she has also a chariot, but the chariot of Mārīcī is drawn by seven pigs while the chariot of the sun is drawn by seven horses. Again, the charioteer of the sun is Aruna with no legs, but in the case of Mārīcī the charioteer is either a goddess with no legs or Rāhu,—only a head without a body.

There is a belief that Mārīcī is the same as Vajravārāhī, but there is very little basis for the theory. Vajravārāhī is actively associated in yab-yum with her consort Heruka or Samvara, an emanation of Akṣobhya. Mārīcī is, on the contrary, regarded as a consort of Vairocana himself and not of any emanation of a Dhyāni Buddha. She is never known to be associated with him in yab-yum, but always appears singly. Heruka rides a corpse lying on its breast and accordingly such a Vāhana has been given to Vajravārāhī, but Mārīcī is never known to tread upon a corpse or even the prostrate form of a man. The images of Vajravārāhī always represent her as one-faced with an excrescence near the right ear, but

Māricī, though rarely represented as one-faced, is never known to have any excrescence anywhere in her body. Vajravārāhī, according to the Dhyaṇa, may have four arms but Māricī can never have four arms ; she must have either two, eight, ten or twelve arms according to the Sādhana. Māricī is always said to reside in the womb of a Caitya, whereas Vajravārāhī being an abbess may reside anywhere. The Mantra for Vajravārāhī is "Om Sarva-Buddhaḍākinīye Vajravārāhīye huṃ huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ Svāhā", whereas, the Mantras for Māricī are "Om Māricyai māṃ huṃ huṃ Svāhā" or "Om Vajravetāli huṃ phaṭ". Śāntideva gives the Dhāraṇī for Māricī but the Dhāraṇī never gives her the name of Vajravārāhī. Lastly, the conception of Māricī has a greater antiquity than the conception of either Vajravārāhī or Heruka. The union of Heruka and Vajravārāhī is the subject-matter of the Vajravārāhī Tantra but no Tantra is assigned to Māricī. Vajravārāhī stands in the Ardhaparyāṅka in a dancing attitude on a corpse, but Māricī stands almost always in the Ālīḍha attitude, moves in a chariot but never has the dancing attitude. Vajravārāhī has been called a Ḍākinī, or in other words, an *abbess* who has attained perfection (*siddhi*), and has become a deified woman ; but Māricī is a goddess and was never less than a goddess.

In view of these wide differences in form and character we do not see how the identity of the two goddesses, Māricī and Vajravārāhī, can be established. The only points of agreement between them are that both of them are emanations of Vairocana, and both sometimes have two arms and two legs.

Sixteen Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā describe six distinct forms of Māricī. She may have one, three, five or six faces and two, eight, ten or twelve arms. She is generally accompanied by her four attendants, Varttālī, Vadālī, Varālī and Varāhamukhī. She is recognized generally by the sow face and the seven pigs that run her chariot. The needle and string are her characteristic symbols by which she is believed to sew up the mouths and the eyes of the wicked. Images of Māricī are rather common in India. In her two-armed form of Aśokakāntā she accompanies Khadiravānī-Tāra ; among the other varieties of Māricī, the form with three faces and eight arms are extensively met with in sculptures.

(i) *Aśokakāntā*.*Vāhana*—pig.

Colour—yellow.

*Āsana*—standing.*Mudrā*—Varada.Distinctive feature—left hand touching the *Aśoka* bough.

Ordinarily *Māricī* has two arms and one face. She is called *Aśoka-kāntā* when she holds the bough of an *Aśoka* tree in the left hand and exhibits the Varada *Mudrā* in the right hand ; but she will be called *Ārya-Māricī* if she carries the needle and the string in her two hands. The *Dhyāna* describing the form of *Aśokakāntā* is stated below :—

“ Hemābhāsūkarārūḍhām taptakāñcanabhāsurām ।  
 Līlayorddhvasthitām [caiva] candrāmbhoruhasamsthitām ॥  
 Aśokavṛkṣasākḥāgravilāgnām vāmapāṇinā ।  
 Bibhratī varadākāraṃ dakṣiṇakarapallavām ॥  
 Dīptaratnopaśobhena maulinā Buddhaśekharā ।  
 Svetavastrām nāmaśyāmi Māricīm abhayapradām.” ॥

Sādhana-mālā. A—161, N—146, C—180.

“I bow to *Māricī* who rides the sow of golden colour, whose complexion is like the colour of molten gold, who stands in a sportive attitude on the moon over the lotus, holds with her left hand the bough of an *Aśoka* tree, and displays the Varada pose in the right ; who bears the image of the *Dhyānī Buddha* [*Vairocana*] on the crown, is decorated with bright jewels, wears white garments and bestows assurance [to the world.]”

(ii) *Ārya-Māricī*.

Symbols—needle and the string.

*Ārya Māricī* is identical in all other respects with *Aśokakāntā* and can only be distinguished by the symbols she bears in her hands. As already stated, *Aśokakāntā* has the *Aśoka* bough and the Varada pose but *Ārya-Māricī* carries the needle and the string.\*

\* Cf. the description in the *Sādhana-mālā*—“ Cintayet *Ārya-Māricīm* sūcīsūtradharīm rūpām ।”

Ms. A—161.

(iii) *Māricīpicuvā*.

Faces—three.

Arms—eight.

*Māricīpicuvā* is also called *Aṣṭabhuja-pīṭa-Māricī* (or *Samkṣipta-Māricī*). These two names denote two distinct varieties of *Māricī*, but they are both endowed with three faces and eight arms and carry similar weapons in their hands. One *Sādhana* only is devoted to *Māricīpicuvā* and it is not mentioned whether she should be accompanied by the four goddesses, as usual. She holds the needle and the string in the first pair of hands, the *Ankuśa* and the noose in another pair, the bow and the arrow in the third pair, and the *Vajra* and the *Aśoka* flower in the fourth pair. She has three faces, each displaying three different sentiments (*Rasa*). The *Dhyāna* in verse runs as follows :—

“ Śṛṅgāravīṇasaddharṣaīr-jāmbūnadasamaprabhām ।  
 Madhyendranīlavarāṇāsyām bhayaibbhatsaraudrakaiḥ ॥  
 Karuṇādbhutaśāntaiśca sphatikenditarānanām ।  
 Trivimokṣamukhaistryakṣo dharmasambhoganīrmitām ॥  
 Pītākṣaraṇasadvāstrāṇi mayūkhasukhavāsinīm ।  
 Sūcyāksāsyāni sivantīm bandhantīm mukhacakṣuṣī ॥  
 Hṛdgale'ṅkuśapāsābhyām bindhantīm bāṇakārmukaiḥ ।  
 Vajreṇa duṣṭaḥṛbhitvāśokenāsecanaparām ॥  
 Prajñopāyapadākrāntām Māricīm bhāvayed-vratī ॥

*Māricīpicuvāsādhanaṃ.* Sādhanamālā. A—156-7, N—142. C—126.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as *Māricī*-[*Picuvā*], who displays the sentiments of *Śṛṅgāra*, *Vīra* and *Harṣa* in one of her faces which is of the colour of *Jāmbūnada* (gold) ; in the middle face which is of the colour of *Indranīla* gem, the sentiments of *Bhaya*, *Bibhatsa*, and *Raudra* are displayed ; and in the third face of crystal colour, the sentiments of *Karuṇā*, *Adbhuta* and *Śānta* appear. She has three eyes in all the three faces, which give freedom from the three great evils. Her essence is made up of the *Dharmakāya* and *Sambhogakāya*. She is clad in garments of yellow colour and resides happily in the mass of rays. She sews up the eyes and the mouths of the wicked by the needle and secures them with a string. She strikes their heart with the *Ankuśa*, draws them by the neck with the noose, pierces them by the bow and the arrow, and by rending their heart to pieces with the *Vajra*, sprinkles water with the leaves of *Aśoka*....she tramples under her feet *Prajñā* and *Upāya*.”

*Aṣṭabhuja-Māricī* or *Samkṣipta-Māricī* is yellow in colour, wears red garments, is decked in various ornaments, bears the image of *Vaircana* on the crown and resides within the cavity of a *Caitya*. Her three faces display three different sentiments. The first or the principal face displays amour and has the colour of gold. The second or the left face is distorted sow-like, has the colour of the *Indranīla* gem, displays wrath and looks terrible with

bare fangs and protruding lips. The third or the face to the right is of deep red colour, glows in heavenly splendour and displays the sentiment of Śānta. She rides the chariot drawn by seven pigs, stands in the Āliḍha attitude and appears as a virgin in the fulness of youth. Below the seven sows is the fierce Rāhu who devours the sun and the moon. She is surrounded by the four attendant goddesses, Varttālī, Vadālī, Varālī and Varāhamukhī.

(i) Varttālī has red complexion, the sow-face, four arms, wears red garments, is decked in all ornaments and carries the noose and the Aśoka in the left hands and the Vajrāṅkuśa and the needle in the right.

(ii) Vadālī has many features in common with Varttālī with the difference that her colour is yellow and she carries the noose and the Vajra in the left hand and the Aśoka and the needle in the right.

(iii) Varālī is identical with Vadālī in many respects except that the former holds the Vajra and the needle in the right hand and the noose and the Aśoka in the left.

(iv) Varāhamukhī wears the same garments and the same ornaments as the two previous ones. But she is red in complexion and carries the Vajra and the arrow in the right hand and the Aśoka and the bow in the left.

It is very curious that nearly all the images of Mārīcī we have come across, up till now, belong to this variety. In actual images instead of Rāhu, sometimes a lady charioteer without legs may be seen. Some images, again, retain the charioteer as well as the Rāhu. Two images of the eight-armed variety of Mārīcī are in the Dacca Museum, two are in the Indian Museum, (Plate XXX,c-d) Calcutta ; and the one (Plate XXXI,a) \* that is frequently represented in many works of art, was discovered at Sarnāth and is now deposited in the Lucknow Museum ; a sixth has been discovered in Orissa. Besides these, several more images of Mārīcī hail from the museums at Rajshahi and Sarnath. All these images are three-faced and eight-armed, and some of them are very fine specimens of art. In the more artistic and accurate images the three sentiments have actually been depicted by the sculptors. A study of these images will show that though the sculptors generally follow the Sādhana in all the details, yet they do not always follow it in the case of the four attendant goddesses. Sometimes they are two-armed, and sometimes, though four-armed, they do not carry the symbols prescribed by the Sāadhanamālā.

\* The remarkable feature of this image is that it bears on the crown a miniature figure of the Dhyaṇī Buddha Amitābha instead of Vairocana, the parental Buddha, as required by the Sādhana. The reason for this anomaly is that this particular image belongs to the cult of Amitābha, the followers of which considered Amitābha as the 3rd Buddha and made all their gods emanate from him.



## (iv) Ubhayavarāhānana-Māricī.\*

Faces—three.  
 Āsana—Ālīḍha.

Arms—twelve.  
 Distinctive mark—two sow-faces.

She has been given this name as her two faces to the right and left of the principal one are both depicted sow-like, unlike any other three-faced variation of Māricī. She is clad in decent tiger-skin, has red complexion, bejewelled headdress, red scarf and is decked in all ornaments. She resides within the womb of a Caitya, stands in the Ālīḍha attitude and is endowed with three faces and twelve arms. The principal face smiles with delight, is peaceful in appearance and displays the sentiment of amour. The two side ones are distorted sow-like, all three faces having three eyes in each. The face to the left is red and paid homage to by a deity carrying Vajra and Mudgara. The face to the right has a reddish effulgence like that of the Saindhava salt and is paid homage to by Purandara (Indra) who carries the Vajra and the noose. In her six left hands she shows the Tarjanī against the breast, the Aśoka bough, the Vajrāṅkuśa, the Kapāla, the head of Brahmā and the vessel, and in the six right hands the needle, Aṅkuśa, the Bhiṇḍipāla (spear), the sword, the Kartri and the Staff surmounted by a Vajra. She bears the image of Vairocana on her crown, and tramples under her feet the Hindu gods, such as, Hari (Viṣṇu), Hara (Śiva), Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahmā) and others. The guardians of the quarters all pay homage to this goddess.

It may be pointed out here that the Sādhana is reticent about the chariot, the seven sows that run it, and about the four attendant goddesses, Varttālī, Vadālī, Varālī, and Varāhamukhī.

## (v) Daśabhujasita-Māricī.

Faces—five.                      Colour—white.  
 Arms—ten.                      Legs—four.

Two Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā describe her form with ten arms, which shows that she is one of the white variations of Māricī. The most important feature of this variety is that she is endowed with four legs. She has five faces and ten arms. The principal face is white, the one to the right is blue, the other to the left is red and distorted sow-like, the face behind is green and the face above is yellow and bears the Trisikhā (three tufts of

\* The name is mine.

hair) and the crown of chignon. The five right hands hold the sun, the blue Vajra, the arrow, the goad and the needle. The hands to the left carry the moon, the bow, the Aśoka bough, the noose with the Tarjanī and the string. She rides a chariot drawn by seven pigs and tramples under her feet the four Hindu gods, Indra, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, and bears the effigy of Vairocana on the tiara.

The Sādhana further add that she should be accompanied by three other goddesses. The first among them is of blue complexion, and rides upon a Makara. Her face is distorted like that of a sow and she carries the Vajra in one hand and shows the Tarjanī in the other.

The second goddess appears to the right of Mārīcī, wears celestial ornaments, is of red colour with one face distorted sow-like. She carries in her four hands, the goad, the needle, the noose with the Tarjanī and the string.

The third goddess appears to the left of Mārīcī. She is also of red colour with one face distorted sow-like and four arms. The two principal hands are engaged in drawing full the bow charged with an arrow, while the rest hold the Vajra in the right and the Aśoka bough in the left.

Below the seven pigs drawing the chariot are the Navagrahas or the Nine Planets and various diseases and disasters in human shape lie flat on the ground.

The Sādhana do not give the names of the attendant deities, which are only three in number. It is possible that these three are the members of the Varttālī group. The illustration in Plate XXXI, b represents a Nepalese drawing of this variety of Mārīcī.

(vi) Vajradhātviśvarī Mārīcī.

Faces—six.

Arms—twelve.

Āsana—Ālīḍha.

Appearance—terrible.

When six-faced and twelve-armed, Mārīcī is invoked in three different varieties, under the three different names, Vajradhātviśvarī-Mārīcī, Oḍiyāna-Mārīcī and Vajravetālī. As there are very slight differences amongst the three they have been classed together. The difference, however, lies in the different weapons that are held in their hands. Excepting Vajravetālī, who is represented singly, each of the two others is accompanied by a deity, who serves as the charioteer.

The features that are common to all the three may be summarised from the Sādhana as follows. They are all endowed with six faces and twelve arms. The first five faces have respectively the red, blue, green, yellow and white



colour. The face on the top is distorted sow-like and has the blue colour. All the three are said to reside in the womb of a Caitya, they stand in the *Āliḍha* attitude and bear the image of Vairocana on the crown. They present a terrifying appearance with three eyes, protruding tongue, bare fangs, the ornaments of serpents, and garments of tiger-skin.

Vajradhātviśvarī carries in her six right hands the sword, the *Mūṣala*, the arrow, the goad, the Vajra, and the *Paraśu*, and in the six left show the noose,\* the *Kapāla*, the *Aśoka* bough, the head of *Brahmā*, the bow and the *Trisūla*. *Oḍiyāna Māricī* holds the *Cakra* in the right instead of the goad, and the *Khaṭvāṅga-Kapāla* in one of the left hands instead of *Kapāla* only. *Vajravetāli* in one of her right hands holds the crossed double thunderbolt instead of the goad or the *Cakra*; and in one of the left, the noose instead of *Kapāla* or the *Khaṭvāṅga-Kapāla*. All the other hands carry the same weapons in all the three cases.

## 2. UṢṢĪSAVĪJAYĀ.

Colour—white.

Faces—three.

Arms—eight.

Identification mark—Buddha on lotus.

Symbols—*right* Viśavajra, Buddha on lotus, arrow, Varada Mudrā.

*left* bow, Tarjanī and noose, Abhaya Mudrā, Kalaśa.

Like *Māricī*, *Uṣṣāvijayā* is also said to bear the image of Vairocana on the crown and to reside within the womb of a Caitya. She is one of the most popular deities of the Pantheon and almost every temple in Nepal has got her image in it. The most artistic specimen, however, belongs to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. A miniature Caitya on the top of the image of *Uṣṣāvijayā* signifies that she is a presiding deity of the sanctum of the Caitya. Several *Sādhana*s describe her form and we quote below the *Dhyāna* contained in one of these :—

“*Śuklāṃ trimukhāṃ trinetrāṃ navayauvanāṃ nānālankāradharāṃ aṣṭabhujaṃ Bhagavatīm cintayet; pītākṣṇadakṣiṇetaravadanāṃ; dakṣiṇacaturbhujaṃ viśvavajra-padmaṣṭha-Buddha-bhāṇa-varadamudrādharaṃ, Vāmacaturbhujaṃ cāpa-tarjanīpāśa-abhayaḥasta-pūrnakumbhāḥ; caityaguḥāgarbha-sthitāṃ Vairocanamukūṭinīm niṣpāḍya. . .*”

*Uṣṣāvijayāsādhanaṃ.\**

*Sādhana-mālā. A—210, Na—14, C—168.*

\* She also carries the Tarjanī with the noose in one of the left hands instead of the noose only.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as [Uṣṇīṣavijayā] who is white in complexion, three-faced, three-eyed, is youthful, and decked in many ornaments ; whose right and left faces are respectively of yellow and blue colour, whose four right hands carry the Viśvavajra, Buddha on lotus, arrow and the Varada pose, and the four left hands show the bow, the noose with the Tarjanī, the Abhaya pose, and the well-filled water-vessel ; who resides in the womb of the interior of the Caitya, and bears the image of Vairocana on the crown. Thus meditating . . . ”

The specimen (Plate XXI,c) \* of Uṣṇīṣavijayā in the Indian Museum, Calcutta agrees almost in all details with the description given in the Sādhana. The attitude in which she sits here is the Vajraparyāṅka attitude.

The other illustration (Plate XXXI,d) is the reproduction of a painting contained in an illuminated manuscript of Pañcarakṣā. In it, the right hand which ought to have carried the Viśvavajra or the crossed thunderbolt, carries the jewel instead. In all other respects the painting follows the description of the Sādhana most accurately.

### 3. SĪTĀTAPATRĀ APARĀJITĀ.

Faces—three.

Arms—six.

Symbols—*right* Cakra, Aṅkuśa, bow.

*left* white Vajra, arrow and Tarjanipāśa.

One Sādhana only is devoted to the worship of this deity. The word, “ Vairocananāyakāṃ ” in the Sādhana shows that she also belongs to the family of the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana. She is otherwise of a mild nature except for the eyes which display anger. The Dhyāna describes her form in the following manner :—

“Sītātapatrāparājitāṃ Bhagavatīm trimukhāṃ śaḍbhujāṃ, pratimukhāṃ trinayanāṃ, śuklanīlārūṇadakṣiṇāvāmamukhīm, cakrāṅkuśadhanurdhārī dakṣiṇakarāṃ, śītavajrasarapāśatarjanīdharavāmakarāṃ sakroḍhadṛṣṭikāṃ sarvagrahavidhvaṃsinīm divyālaṅkāravastavatīm Vairocananāyakāṃ dhyātvā . . . ”

Sādhanamālā. A—210, Na—14, C—169.

\* The image was first illustrated in Foucher : *L'Iconographie Bouddhique de L'Inde*, parte 2, Fig. 6. The Dhyāni Buddha over her head is here Akṣobhya instead of Vairocana. The reason is that the image belonged to the Akṣobhya cult, which did not acknowledge the superiority of Vairocana. .

“The worshipper should conceive himself as goddess Sitātapatrā Aparājitā who is three-faced, six-armed, and has three eyes in all faces ; who is of white complexion ; whose faces to the right and left are respectively of blue and red colour ; who carries in the right hands the Cakra, the goad, and the bow, and in the left the white Vajra, the arrow and the noose with the Tarjanī ; who has angry looks, destroys all sorts of evil spirits (Grahās, *lit.* Planets), wears celestial ornaments and garments, and is looked after by Vairocana. Thus meditating....”

This goddess is called Sitātapatrā, meaning “ of white parasol ”, and should be distinguished from the other Aparājitā,\* who has an entirely different form and is represented without the figure of any Dhyānī Buddha on the crown. The illustration (Plate XXXI,c) represents a Nepalese drawing of Sitātapatrā.

#### 4. MAHĀSĀHASRAPRAMARDANĪ.

Colour—white.

Arms—six.

Symbols—*right* sword, arrow, Varada Mudrā.

*left* bow, noose, axe.

Mahāsāhasrapramardanī is another of the Pañcarakṣā group and is assigned to Vairocana exactly in the same way as Mahāsītavatī and Mahāmantrānusārinī are affiliated respectively to Amitābha and Akṣobhya. Her form is different from the form in which she is worshipped in the Pañcarakṣā Maṇḍala. Here the Dhyāna describes her form in the following terms :—

“Mahāsāhasrapramardanīm ātmānaṃ dhyāyāt ; śuklāṃ ekamukhīm śaḍbhujāṃ ; dakṣiṇātribhujēsu khaḍgabāṇavaradamudrāḥ, vāmātribhujēsu dhānuḥpāśaparaśavah ; vicitrālaṅkāradharāṃ rūpayauvanaśīṅgāravatīm Vairocanakirīṭayuktāṃ padmacandrāsanaprabhāṃ.”

Sāadhanamālā. A—214-15, Na—17, C—171.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as Mahāsāhasrapramardanī who is of white complexion, one-faced, six armed, carries in her three right hands the sword, the arrow and the Varada pose, and in the three left the bow, the noose and the Paraśu ; who is decked in variegated ornaments, is young and beautiful, displays the sentiment of passion, has the figure of Vairocanā on her tiara, sits on the moon over the lotus and has moon-like effulgence.”

\* See *Infra*, Chapter XII, (ii), No. 2.

## 5. VAJRĀVĀRĀHĪ.

Āsana—dancing in Ardhaparyāṅka.

Characteristic feature—excrecence near the right ear.

The union of Vajravārāhī with Heruka is the cult of the celebrated Cakrasamvara Tantra and the Vajravārāhī Tantra. One of the Sādhana give her the epithet of “Śrī-Herukadevasyāgramahiṣī,” that is, the first queen of the god, Śrī-Heruka. She is also called a Dākinī and in the Buddhist Tantra, it signifies any Śakti with whom the Yuganaddha (yab-yum) worship may be performed. It will not be out of place to mention here that Heruka is also associated with Vajrayoginī and their union is the subject of the great Heruka Tantra. But as they differ considerably in form, we do not venture to combine them into one. If Vajravārāhī is the first queen of Heruka there is no reason to suppose that Vajrayoginī may not be another. Vajravārāhī is represented as nude and as displaying the intense sentiment of amour and passion. The word, Vajravārāhī means in English “the Adamantine Sow” for the simple reason that she had an excrecence to her right which resembles the face of a sow.\* Getty’s story† regarding the attack of Yun-gar on the abbess and the monastery does not, in all probability, refer to Māricī, but to this Vajravārāhī; for, when Māricī has one face it may be distorted sow-like but Vajravārāhī has an excrecence just near the right ear, which is a natural one, and for which the Sādhana give her the epithet of Vajraghoṇā (adamantine excrecence). Another argument in favour of this is that, while Vajravārāhī is called a Dākinī, and is associated with four other Dākinīs, she may, very well, be an abbess, and therefore, an ordinary woman deified, and not a goddess. But Māricī is decidedly a goddess, she is Vajradhātviśvarī, and the consort of a Dhyaṇī Buddha.

Several Sādhana, long and short, describe the procedure of her worship discriminating two distinct forms of Vajravārāhī, who is also designated as Buddhāḍākinī and Vajravairocanī. She is either two-armed or four-armed. Even among the two-armed forms, some varieties are noticed. In one Sādhana only is she said to emanate from the family of Vairocana, and to bear the double Vajra on head, but others are silent as to her crest.

\* Almost all the Sādhana give her the epithet of Ghoṇā or Vajraghoṇā, which means “of adamantine excrecence;” and the images of Vajravārāhī, whether in paintings or in sculpture,—all agree in attributing her a sow-like excrecence near the right ear.

† Getty: *Gods of the Northern Buddhism*, p. 117 et. sqq.

(i)

Colour—red.

Appearance—nude.

Arms—two.

Symbols—Vajra-Tarjanī and Kapāla. Distinctive feature—Khaṭvāṅga to the left.  
 Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

Several Sādhana describe the two-armed varieties of Vajravārāhī and let us take up a specimen Dhyāna, which will give a general idea as to her form.—

“Ātmānaṃ Bhagavatīm Vajravārāhīm dāḍimakusumaprakhyām dvibhujām ekānanaṃ trinetraṃ muktakeśāṃ śaṇmudrāmudritām digambarām pañcajñānātmikām sahañānandasvabhāvām ; dakṣiṇena vajratarjanīkākarām vāmena karotakakhaṭvāṅgakarām ; pratyālīḍhapadākṛānta-bhairava-Kālārātrikām sārdramuṇḍamālālāṅkrtagātrām, śravadrudhiram pivantiṃ, bhāvayet.”

Sādhanamālā. A—230, Na—65, C—182.

The worshipper should conceive himself as goddess Vajravārāhī whose complexion is red like the pomegranate flower ; who is two-armed, one-faced and three-eyed, has dishevelled hair, is endowed with the six auspicious symbols, and is nude ; whose essence is the five spiritual knowledges,\* who is of the nature of the Sahaja pleasure, who shows in the right hand the Vajra together with the Tarjanī, and bears the Kapāla and the Khaṭvāṅga in the left ; who stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, tramples upon the fierce Kālārātri, is decked in garlands of wet heads, and who drinks of the blood trickling therefrom.”

The Sādhana further adds that the four leaves of the lotus on which she stands are occupied by Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā and Rūpiṇī on the four cardinal points beginning from the right. The four companions are respectively of blue, green red and white colour and they are all one-faced and four-armed and carry the Khaṭvāṅga, Kapāla, Ḍamaru and the Kartri in the right and left hands.

(ii)

Symbols—Kartri and Kapāla.

Āsana—Dancing in Ardhaparyāṅka.

Vāhana—corpse (lying on its breast.)

This variety of Vajravārāhī is invoked in the rite of bewitching men or women and is very popular now-a-days in Nepal and other Buddhist countries. In all respects she is identical with the one described

\* The five spiritual knowledges are Rūpa, Saṃjñā, Saṃskāra, Vedanā and Vijñāna, or in other words, the five Skandhas.

before, except that here she wields the Kartri in the right hand and carries the Kapāla in the left. The Khaṭvāṅga, as usual, hangs from her left shoulder in the same way as Hērūka carries it. She stands in the attitude of dancing on a corpse.

The drawing of Vajravārāhī (Plate XXXII, a) is quite in keeping with the Sādhana; but the other image (Plate XXXII, b)\* now in Germany is somewhat different. The corpse on which she dances in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude is lying on its back, instead of, on its breast. We may add that the image is a Tibetan bronze and as Tibet had a different iconographical development, it does not follow the Sanskrit Sādhana, in all details.

(iii) ĀRYAVAJRAVĀRĀHĪ.

Symbols—*right* Vajra and Aṅkuśa. *left* Kapāla and Tarjanīpāśa.  
Appearance—terrible. Attitude—Ālīḍha.

The four-armed form of Vajravārāhī is also similar to the forms mentioned before and is called Āryavajravārāhī. The difference lies only in the attitude, number of arms and the symbols carried in her hands. She carries in the two right hands the Vajra and the goad, and in the two left the Kapāla and the Tarjanī with the noose. She is one-faced, three-eyed and appears terrible with contortions of the brows, the adamantine excrescence, and the protruding tongue, teeth and belly. She stands in the Ālīḍha attitude on the corpse, unlike other forms of Vajravārāhī. The Khaṭvāṅga hangs from her left shoulder as usual.†

\* Published in Grunwodel: *Die Geschichten vierundachtzig Zauberer in Baseler Archiv*, Fig. 5.

† Extracts from the Dhyāna may be quoted as follows :—

“ Pretāsanasthām. ālīḍhapadām nagnām śiddhvakeśām Kapālamukutām....caturbhujām, dakṣiṇe Vajrāṅkuśadharām, vāme Kapālakhaṭvāṅgatarjanīpāśadharām..... Vajraghoṣām....”

Sādhana-mālā. A—236.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### EMANATIONS OF AMOGHASIDDHI.

Like the emanations of Vairocana, the deities emanating from Amoghasiddhi also are entirely feminine in character. In the whole of the *Sādhnamālā* only seven deities are expressly stated to bear the image of the Dhyānī Buddha Amoghasiddhi on the crown. Amoghasiddhi is distinguished from the other Dhyānī Buddhas by the green colour of his body, and the Abhaya Mudrā he displays in his right hand.

#### 1. KHADIRAVANĪ-TĀRĀ.

Colour—green.  
Symbol—Utpala.

Mudrā—Varada.  
Companions—Aśokakāntā and Ekajaṭā.

Tārā is the common name applied to a large number feminine divinities in the Buddhist Pantheon. In the *Sādhnamālā*, Jāṅguli, Paṇṣavari, Mahācīnatārā, Ekajaṭā and many others are called Tārās. Khadiravanī is also designated as a Tārā in the *Sādhnamālā* and is endowed with two hands, which show the Varada Mudrā in the right and the Utpala in the left. She can be recognized by the figures of the two attendant deities, Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. One Sādhana in the *Sādhnamālā* describes her form and the Dhyāṇa is quoted as follows :—

“ Haritām Amoghasiddhinukūṭīm varadotpala dhārī dakṣiṇāvāmakarām  
Aśokakāntā-Mārīcī-Ekajaṭā vyagradakṣiṇāvāmadigbhāgām divyakumārīm  
dhyātvā...”

Khadiravanī-Tārāsādhnam.”

*Sādhnamālā*. A—98, N—65, C—72.

The worshipper should conceive himself as Khadiravanī-Tārā of green colour, who bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on her tiara, shows the Varada pose and the Utpala in the right and left hands respectively ; whose right and left sides are occupied by Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. and who appears a celestial virgin. Thus meditating....”

She is commonly known as Śyāmā-Tārā because of her green colour, and as the Sādhana does not mention the particular Āsana, she may be represented in any attitude, either sitting (Plate XXXII,d) or standing (Plate XXXII,c). The sitting image (Plate XXXII,f) belonging to the Indian Museum, repre-



*a. Bhadrāsana Tārā*



*b. Sadbhujā-Sitatārā*



*c. Dhanada-Tārā*



*d. Parnāsavārī  
( Vikrampur, Dacca )*





a. Parṃaśavārī  
(Vikrampur, Dacca.)



b. Vajrasaṃkṛā



c. Jambhala  
(Nepal)



d. Jambhala  
(Vikrampur, Dacca.)



e. Jambhala  
(Vikrampur, Dacca.)



a. Uccusma-Jambhala  
(Sarnath)



b. Mahāpratisarā  
(Dacca Museum)



c. Mahāpratisarā  
(Dacca Sahitya Parishat)



d. Vasudhārā  
(Nepal)



a. Mahākāla  
(Nepal)



b. Vajratārā  
( Indian Museum )



c. Prajñāpāramitā  
( Indian Museum )



d. Vajratārā  
( Orissa )



a. Vajratārā  
(Nepal)



b. Cundā  
(British Museum)



c. Mahāpratisarā  
❀



d. Mahāsahasrapramardanī



*a.* Mahāmāyūrī



*b.* Mahāmantrīnusārīṇī



*c.* Mahāsītavatī



*d.* Prasannatārā



a. Mahattarī Tārā  
(Nepal)



b. Bighmāntaka  
(Bangiya Sāhitya Pariṣat)



c. Trailokyavijaya  
(Bodhi Gaya)



d. Paramāśva



a. Nāmasaṅgīti  
(Nepal).



b. Nāmasaṅgīti.  
(Nepal).



c. Ārya-Sarasvatī.

d. Vajrasāradā.



e. Vajrasāradā  
(Nalanda).



a. Mahāsarasvatī.



b. Vajrasarasvatī.



c. Aparājitā.



d. Aparājitā.  
(Nalanda).





a. Aparājita.  
( Indian Museum. )



b. Vajrayoginī Temple at Sāṅku.



c. Grahamātrka.



d. Gaṇapatihrdayā.



e. Vajravidārāṇī.



1. Hayagrīva Lokēśvara.



3. Hālāhala Lokēśvara.



2. Mojaghāṇjavala (?)  
Lokēśvara.



4. Hariharivarivāhana  
Lokēśvara.



5. Māyājālakrama Lokeśvara.



7. Ānandāḍi Lokeśvara.



6. Ṣaḍakṣarī Lokesvara.



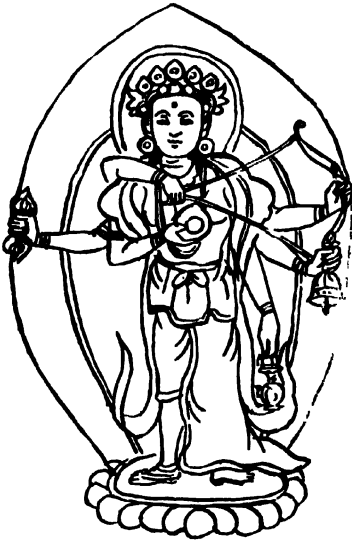
8. Vasyadhikāra Lokesvara.



9. Potapāda Lokeśvara.



11. Varadāyaka Lokeśvara.



10. Kamaṇḍalu Lokeśvara.



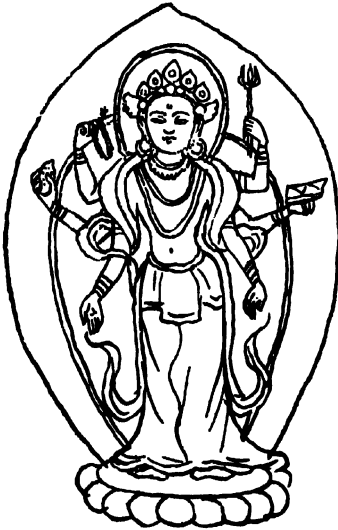
12. Jaṭāmukha Lokeśvara.



13. Sukhāvati Lokeśvara.



15. Māyājālakramakrodha-  
Lokeśvara.



14. Pretasantarpana  
Lokeśvara.



16. Sugāṭisandarśana Lokeśvara.



17. Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara.



19. Trilokasandarśana  
Lokeśvara.



18. Lokanāṭha-Raktāryyāva-  
lokiteśvara.



20. Śiṃhanāṭha Lokeśvara.



21. Khasarpāṇa Lokeśvara.



23. Vajradharma Lokeśvara.



22. Maṇipadma Lokeśvara.



24. Puṇḍra Lokeśvara (?)

sented with the Dharmacakra Mudrā and two companions, Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā, may also be identified as Khadiravanī. She bears the stems of the Utpala and the lotus under her two armpits. The Dharmacakra Mudrā displayed in the image, however, may point to its identification as Prajñāpāramitā, but in that case, we fail to explain the presence of the two companions, Aśokakāntā and Ekajaṭā.

The Dacca Museum image of Khadiravanī-Tārā illustrated in Plate XXXII, e is a very interesting specimen. In it we find that the principal goddess, in addition to the two divinities Aśokakāntā and Ekajaṭā, is accompanied by eight more goddesses, four to the right and four to the left. They are identical in all respects with the principal figure. It seems probable that they represent the eight letters of the Tārā Mantra exactly in the same way as Dhanada Tārā is said to be accompanied by eight attendant deities in the Sādhana, each originating from a letter of the Mantra for her invocation. It may be remarked by the way that the Tārā Mantra does not consist of eight syllables but ten. When eight goddesses are present, it must be understood that Uṣṇīṣavijayā and Sumbhā originating from the last two letters of the Tārā Mantra, “ Svā ” and “ hā ”, have not been represented.

## 2. VAŚYATĀRĀ.

Āsana — Bhadrāsana.	Symbol — Lotus.
Mudrā — Varada.	Colour — green.

Vaśyatārā is also known by the name of Āryatara, and only one Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā is assigned to her. There is practically no difference in her form with that of Khadiravanī-Tārā in as much as both display the Varada Mudrā in the right hand and carry the Utpala in the left. Both have the green colour and both bear the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown. In the case of Khadiravanī-Tārā it is not mentioned in what attitude she should stand or sit, but here it is expressly mentioned that Vaśyatārā should be seated in the Bhadrāsana, which represents the European fashion of sitting with two legs dangling below. This Āsana or the attitude of sitting alone distinguishes Vaśyatārā from all other ordinary Tārās carrying the Utpala in the left and exhibiting the Varada Mudrā in the right. The other point of difference between Khadiravanī-Tārā and Vaśyatārā is, that the former is accompanied by two goddesses, Aśokakāntā Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā; whereas, the latter is absolutely unattended. Khadiravanī may have any attitude, but the Sādhana prescribes that Vaśyatārā must show the Bhadrāsana only.



The accompanying sketch (Plate XXXIII,a) represents *Vaśyatārā* as she is pictured in Nepal. The sketch is important in showing the *Bhadrāsana* attitude in which the goddess sits.

### 3. ŚAḌBHUJA SĪTATĀRĀ.

Faces—three. Arms—six. Colour—white. Āsana—Ardhaparyāṅka.  
Symbols—*right* Varadamudrā, rosary and arrow ; *left* Utpala, lotus, and bow.

There are many *Sādhana*s for *Sitatārā*s, or the *Tārā*s of white colour, but in none of them it is mentioned that they should bear the image of *Amoghasiddhi* on the crown. It is only in this case that the crest of the *Dhyānī* Buddha is expressly mentioned. This white *Tārā* is three-faced and six-armed, and the *Dhyāna* describes her in the following terms :

“*Sitatārām trimukhām śaḍbhujām pītanīladakṣiṇetaramukhiṃ  
pratimukhaṃ trinetrām varadākṣasūtraśaraḍharāḍakṣiṇatrikarām utpala-  
padmacāpadharavāmapāṇitrayām ardhaparyāṅkaṇiṣaṇṇām candrāsana-  
candraprabhām jaṭāmukuṭasthit-Āmoghasiddhiṃ pañcamuṇḍavibhūṣita-  
mastakām ardhacandrakṛtasekharām nānālankāradharām dviraṣṭavarāṣāṅgīm  
aṣṭaśmaśānamadhyasthitām . . . vicintya.*”

Śaḍbhujāśukla-Tārāsādhanaṃ.”

*Sādhana*mālā. A 115, N—82, C—89-90.

The worshipper should conceive himself as *Sitatārā* who is three-faced and six-armed ; whose faces to the right and left are yellow and blue in colour and are endowed with three eyes ; whose three right hands show the *Varada Mudrā*, the rosary and the arrow, and the three left carry the *Utpala*, the lotus and the bow ; who sits in the *Ardhaparyāṅka* attitude, sits on and glows like the moon, and bears the image of *Amoghasiddhi* on the crown of chignon ; whose head is embellished by the five heads and the crescent ; who is decked in many ornaments, is twice eight years old, is situated in the midst of the eight cremation grounds. Thus meditating . . .”

The accompanying sketch (Plate XXXIII,b) shows how she is represented in Nepal. It tallies in all respects with the description given in the *Sādhana*, except that here she is represented in *Vajraparyāṅka* instead of *Ardhaparyāṅka* as required by the *Sādhana*.

## 4. DHANADA-TĀRĀ.

Arms—four. Symbols—*right* rosary, Varada pose ; *left* Utpala, book.

Dhanada-Tārā is one of the four-armed varieties of Tārā. The special features of this goddess are that she rides an animal and that, like Vajratārā, she is surrounded by eight goddesses, originating from the eight syllables of the famous Mantra “Om Tāretuttāreture Svāhā”. The symbols that are held in her four hands are also different from all other varieties of four-armed Tārā. The Dhyāna describing her form runs as follows :—

“Tārām Bhagavatīm ātmānam bhāvayet ; candrāsanaprabhāṃ saumyāṃ sattvaparyāṅkasthām haritaśyāmām ekavadanām dvilocanām caturbhujām akṣasūtravaradotpalapustakadharām vicitravastrālāṅkāravatīm.....Loca-nāḍibhir-devībhiḥ abhiṣīktām ātmānam Amoghasiddhimukutām dhyāyāt.”

Dhanada-Tārāsādhanaṃ.”

Sāadhanamālā, A—116, N—83-4, C—91.

The worshipper should conceive himself as goddess Dhanada-Tārā, who has the seat and the radiance of the moon, is benign in appearance, sits on an animal, has green complexion, one face, two eyes, and four arms showing the rosary, the Varada pose, the Utpala and the book, wears variegated ornaments and garments....The worshipper should further conceive himself as being offered homage by the goddesses, Locanā and others, and as hearing the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown.”

It is not mentioned in the Sādhana on what animal the goddess should sit. The Newari artists represent her as seated on a human being (Plate XXXIII,c).

## 5. PARNAŚAVARĪ.

Colour—green.	Identification mark—angry laugh.	Faces—three.
Arms—six.	Vāhana—Diseases (in human form).	Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

One form of Parnaśavarī with yellow colour has already been discussed under the feminine emanations of the Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya. But here her colour is green, which is probably due to the green colour of the Dhyānī Buddha Amoghasiddhi, from whom she is said to emanate. The Mantra, designates her as a ‘Piśāci,’ and as ‘Sarvamāripraśamanī’ or the destroyer of all diseases and epidemics. In form, she is almost identical with the form that has been described previously except that here her colour is

green and that she bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown, instead of Akṣobhya. She carries the same weapons as the previous one, but her faces instead of displaying the pleasant smile, depict angry laugh. As the two specimens of Parnaśavarī discovered in East Bengal both bear the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown, we consider it necessary to quote the Dhyāna in this case also, for a comparison of the details with the images illustrated :—

“ Parnaśavarīm haritām trimukhām trinetrām śaḍbhujām kṛṣṇasukla-  
dakṣiṇāvāmānanām vajraparaśuśaradakṣiṇakaratrāyām karmukapatracchaṭā-  
sapāsatarjanivāmakaratrāyām sakrodhahasitānanām navayauvanavatīm  
sapatramālāvyaḅhracarmanivasanām iṣallambodarīm ūrddhvasaṃyatakeśīm  
adho aśeṣarogamāripadākṛāntām Amoghasiddhimukūṭīm ātmānam jhaṭīti  
niṣpādyā....”

Sādhana-mālā. A—161-2, N—121, C—181.

The worshipper should conceive himself as Parnaśavarī, who has green complexion, three faces, three eyes, and six arms ; whose right and left faces have blue and white colour respectively ; who carries in her three right hands the Vajra, Paraśu and the arrow, and in the three left, the bow, the cluster of leaves and the Tarjanipāśa ; whose faces depict angry laugh, who is in fulness of youth, is decked in tiger-skin and the apron of leaves, has a slightly protruding belly, and hair tied up above ; who tramples under her feet various diseases and pestilences and bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown. Thus meditating....”

The two images of Parnaśavarī illustrated in Plate XXXIII,d and XXXIV,a have been discovered by Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭaśālī, Curator of the Dacca Museum, and they hail from Parganna Vikrampur in the District of Dacca. These two images follow the Sādhana most accurately in all details ; the angry laugh has been correctly depicted in the three faces, and the belly slightly protrudes. To the right and left are two divinities, who are Hayagrīva, the Hindu god of Fever, and Sitalā, the Hindu goddess of Small-pox. They are represented in the images as flying in opposite directions to escape the wrath of Parnaśavarī. The prostrate figures under the feet are the Diseases and Pestilences in human shape. The figure under the right leg, apparently, is a man attacked with small pox, as we can judge from the circular marks all over his body. The other figure under the left foot is probably attacked with some fatal disease. Both the images of Parnaśavarī are decidedly very fine specimens of the Bengal School of Art.

## 6. MAHĀMĀYŪRĪ.

Colour—green.

Faces—three.

Arms—six.

Āsana—Ardhaparyāṅka.

Mahāmāyūrī is another goddess of the Pañcarakṣā group and is assigned to Amoghasiddhi in the same way as other members of the group affiliate themselves to one or the other of the Dhyānī Buddhas. She is different in form when worshipped in the Pañcarakṣā Maṇḍala which will be described later. When she bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown she is three-faced and six-armed. But she may have another form with one face, two arms and yellow complexion, in which case she will hold the tail of a peacock in the right hand and display the Varada Mudrā in the left. The three-faced and six-armed form of Mahāmāyūrī has been described in the Sādhana-mālā as follows :—

“Mahāmāyūrīm haritavarṇām trimukhām śaḍbhujām pratimukham trinetrām kṛṣṇaśukladakṣiṇetaravadanām ; dakṣiṇātrihasteṣu vathākramam mayūrapicchabāṇavaradamudrāḥ ; tathā vāmātrihasteṣu ratnacchaṭācāpot-saṅgasthakalaśāḥ ; vicitrābharaṇām, śṛṅgārarasām, navayauvanām, candrāsane candraprabhāvatīm, ardhaparyāṅkinīm Amoghasiddhimukutīm bhāvayet ātmānam.”

Sādhana-mālā. A—214, Na—17, C—171.

“The worshipper should realize himself as Mahāmāyūrī, who has green complexion, six arms, and three faces, each endowed with three eyes ; whose right and left faces respectively have blue and white colour ; who shows in her three right hands the tail of a peacock, the arrow and the Varada Mudrā, and similarly in the three left hands the jewel, the bow and the water-vessel on the lap ; who is decked in wonderful ornaments, displays the sentiment of amour, is youthful, has the seat and radiance of the moon, sits in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude and bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown.”

## 7. VAJRAŚṚṆKHALĀ.

Colour—green.

Faces—three.

Arms—eight.

Āsana—Lalita.

Identification mark—chain.

Three Sādhana-s in the Sādhana-mālā are devoted to the worship of Vajraśṛṅkhālā. Her colour is green, and as she emanates from Amoghasiddhi she bears the image of that Dhyānī Buddha on the crown. “Śṛṅkhala” means a chain, and as the goddess carries the adamant chain, she is called

**Vajraśṛṅkhalā.** The chain, therefore, is her characteristic sign and should be paid particular attention to, in identifying her images, if they ever come to light. One of the Dhyānas describes her form in the following manner :—

“Haritām trimukhīm aṣṭabhujām ; prathamamukhaṃ īśaddhāsarasaṃ ; dakṣiṇaṃ kapilaṃ, kapilalocaṇaṃ ca ; vāmaṃ raktaṃ bhṛkuṭīdaṃṣṭrā-karālaṃ ; dakṣiṇeṣu catuḥkareṣu abhaya-vajra-vajraśṛṅkhala-śaradharāṃ ; vāmacatuḥkaraiḥ rudhirapūrṇakapāla-tarjanī-pāśa-cāpadharāṃ ; lalitākṣepā-sanasthām, mārjjārācarmottariyām, Amoghasiddhibhūṣitorddhvapiṅgala-keśām vicintya.....”

Vajraśṛṅkhalāsādhanaṃ.”

Sādhana-mālā. A—223, Na—3, C—177.

“The worshipper should realize himself as [Vajraśṛṅkhalā] of green complexion with three faces and eight arms ; whose first face is gently smiling, the right face is of brown colour with brown eyes, and the left is of red colour and appears terrible with contortions of the brows and bare fangs ; who shows in the four right hands the Abhaya pose, the Vajra, the Vajraśṛṅkhala and the arrow, and in the four left, the Kapāla full of blood, the Tarjanī, the noose and the bow ; who sits in the Lalita attitude, has the scarf of a cat’s skin ; whose brown hair rises upwards and is decorated with the image of Amogha-siddhi. Thus meditating.....”

Vajraśṛṅkhalā may have, according to the Sādhana, another form with three faces and six arms in which case she carries the Vajra, the Vajraśṛṅkhala and the arrow in the three right hands ; and the Tarjanī, the noose and the bow in the three left hands. The illustration (Plate XXXIV, b) shows this form of the goddess as drawn by the native Citrakāras of Nepal.

## CHAPTER IX.

### EMANATIONS OF RATNASAMBHAVA.

#### I. GODS.

Ratnasambhava is a comparatively late incorporation into the Pantheon of the Northern Buddhists, and this is evident from the small number of deities that emanate from him. In the *Sādhana-nālā* two male and two female divinities only are affiliated to this Dhyānī Buddha. It has already been pointed out that Jambhala and Vasudhārā were known long before the Dhyānī Buddhas were ushered into existence, and it appears therefore, that Jambhala has been made an emanation of Ratnasambhava at a very late period. Jambhala is connected with wealth and is said to distribute gems, jewels and riches to his devotees. Again, Ratnasambhava means 'born of jewels' and whom else might Jambhala, the god of wealth, call his sire than the Dhyānī Buddha born of jewels? If one or two forms of Jambhala emanate from Ratnasambhava, it may reasonably be expected that at least one or two forms of his consort Vasudhārā, should also originate from the same source. In spite of all this the Buddhists were divided in their opinion as to the sire of Jambhala. The followers of the Akṣobhya cult held that he must have originated from Akṣobhya.

Mahāpratisarā, another of his emanations, belongs to the Pañcarakṣā group, and affiliates herself to Ratnasambhava in the same way as other members of the group affiliate themselves to one or the other of the five Dhyānī Buddhas. Curiously enough, we do not see a single god or goddess strictly and individually bearing an independent stamp of Ratnasambhava. The reason, we venture to think, is the very late incorporation of Ratnasambhava into the Pantheon as a Divine Buddha. He is distinguished from the other Dhyānī Buddhas by his yellow colour and the Varada Mudrā he displays in his right hand.

The male deities that emanate from Ratnasambhava are Jambhala and Uccuṣma-Jambhala, the latter being regarded as a terrible form of Jambhala.

## 1. JAMBHALA.

Varieties—Single and yab-yum.

Several of Jambhala's forms are noticed in the *Sādhnamālā*, which states that the god may emanate either from Akṣobhya or from Ratnasambhava or from Vajrasattva or from a combination of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. The form that emanates from Akṣobhya has already been described. The characteristic features of Jambhala emanating from Ratnasambhava is that he carries the mongoose in his right hand and the citron in the left. The mongoose is supposed to be the receptacle of all gems and jewels and when Jambhala presses the two sides of the mongoose it vomits forth the riches. By noticing this mongoose in actual representations it is easy to recognize the possessor to be Jambhala. As an emanation of Ratnasambhava he may be represented alone or in the embrace of his Śakti in yab-yum. In the *Sādhnamālā* he is described as single in three Dhyānas only. When represented in yab-yum he sits on the moon under which is the double lotus of eight petals. He wears all sorts of ornaments, his complexion is golden yellow and he has a protruding belly. He carries the citron and the mongoose in the right and the left hand respectively and wears a garland of yellow lotus, and remains in yab-yum with Vasudhārā. The eight petals of the lotus seat are occupied by the eight Yakṣas, to wit, Mañibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Dhanada, Vaiśravaṇa, Kelimālī, Cīvikuṇḍalī, Sukhendra and Carendra. These attendant Yakṣas, are identical in all respects with the principal figure. The Yakṣas are all accompanied with a Śakti with whom they remain in yab-yum in the same way as Jambhala remains with Vasudhārā. The Yakṣiṇīs are eight in number and they are Citrakālī, Dattā, Sudattā, Āryā, Subhadrā, Guptā, Devī, and Sarasvatī. The Yakṣiṇīs are identical in form with Vasudhārā who is yellow in complexion, carries the ears of corn and shows the Varada Mudrā in her two hands.

When single, Jambhala is of golden complexion and carries the mongoose in the left hand and the citron in the right.\* The illustration (Plate XXXIV,c) represents a stone image from Nepal which is in the possession of Paṇḍit Siddhiharṣa. Here the god is represented as sitting in the Lalita attitude. Two other specimens (Plate XXXIV,d-e) from Vikrampur in Eastern Bengal, depict the god in the same attitude; and they are some of the finest products of the Bengal School of Art.

\* Cf.—“*Sri-Jambhalaṃ pītavarṇaṃ dvibhujam, dakṣiṇahaste vijayaparakadharaṃ vāmahastena ratnapravarṣamaṇa-nakulidharaṃ....*”

## 2. UCCHUṢMA JAMBHALA.

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.	Appearance—terrible.	Identification mark—nude.
Arms—two.	Vāhana—Kuvera.	

One of the forms of Ucchuṣma Jambhala has already been discussed along with the other male emanations of Akṣobhya. Even when he emanates from Ratnasambhava his form is the same as has been described before. When we are on the subject of Ucchuṣma Jambhala, we should refer to a stone image of this god, that was unearthed during the excavations carried on at Sarnath, and which is now preserved in the Museum of Archaeology there. This unique image (Plate XXXV,a) has been described by Rai Bahadur Dayā Rām Sāhni in the Museum Catalogue under No. B (c) 1. In terms of the Sādhana the image should bear on its crown either the image of Akṣobhya or of Ratnasambhava, but neither of them is to be found. It is Amitābha who is there. We cannot, however, reject the identification on this ground only: for, dressed in celestial garments and ornaments, the Hindu God, Kuvera, lying flat on the ground, is pressed down by the two heavy legs of Ucchuṣma and vomits out all the jewels he had in his stomach. As a matter of fact we notice, even in the photograph, a stream of jewels flowing out of his mouth. Also in accordance with the Sādhanas, Ucchuṣma stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude with his left leg stretched forward on the forehead of Kuvera while the right tramples upon his two legs. He has a terrible appearance with protruding belly, bare fangs and the ornaments of snakes. He holds the Kapāla full of blood, against his breast and looks eagerly towards it with his three eyes. The left hand, though broken, doubtless held the mongoose near his thigh, which must have vomitted forth the jewels when pressed by the god. We have no means to ascertain why the Dhyānī Buddha in this case is Amitābha and not Akṣobhya or Ratnasambhava. Should we explain this anomaly by holding that it is due to a mistake or whim of the sculptor? Or that the proper Sādhana has not been recorded in the Sādhanamālā? The latter proposition may be correct, for, in the sculpture we notice the headless yet graceful figure of Vasudhārā, not required by the Sādhanas at all. The existence of a separate cult of Amitābha may be responsible for putting in a figure of its supreme Buddha, where the figures either of Akṣobhya or Ratnasambhava might reasonably have been expected.



## II. GODDESSES.

Now that we have done with the male emanations of Ratnasambhava, let us proceed to deal with the two goddesses emanating from this Dhyānī Buddha. Both of them are benign in character, and graceful in appearance, and like the Dhyānī Buddha himself have yellow complexion.

## 1. MAHĀPRATISARĀ.

Varieties—{ 1. Three-faced, ten-armed.  
2. Four faced, eight-armed.

Mahāpratisarā is one and the first member of the Pañcarakṣā group. Her worship is widely prevalent amongst the Tāntric Buddhists,\* and she is represented either singly or in a Maṇḍala in the company of four other Pañcarakṣā deities. She is generally yellow when worshipped independently and occasionally white when worshipped in the Maṇḍala of the five goddesses. She may be represented with four faces and eight arms, or with three faces and ten arms in accordance with the Sādhana. But in actual representations she may have three faces and eight arms. The form with three faces and ten arms, is said to bear the image of Ratnasambhava on the crown. The other yellow form may also be assigned to this Dhyānī Buddha. The Sādhana describes the former in the following terms :—

Mahāpratisarā pītā trimukhī pratimukhaṃ† trinayanā daśabhujā kṛṣṇa-sitadakṣiṇetaravadanā dakṣiṇapañcabhujesū yathākramaṃ khadga-vajra-bhāṇa‡-varada-hṛdayaśāyihastacchatrāṇi tathā vāmapañcabhujesū cāpa-dhvaja-ratnacchatā§-paraśu-śaṅkhāḥ Ratnasambhava-mukutī kṛṣṇakañ-cukarakottariyā ca ardhaparyāṅka-lalitākṣepadivyābharāṇavastirabhiśītā ceti.”

Sādhanamālā. A—215, Na—18, C—171.

Mahāpratisarā has yellow complexion, three faces, each with three eyes, ten arms with the right and left faces having blue and white colour ; she carries in her five right hands the sword, the Vajra, the arrow, the Varada Mudrā, and the umbrella held against her breast, and the five left hands similarly

\* It is perhaps for this reason, Mahāpratisarā was incorporated by the Tāntric Hindus in their Pantheon. In the annual worship of Durgā oblations are offered to Mahāpratisarā in the beginning and her Mantras are muttered.

† A read pītāmukhaṇi.

‡ For -bhāṇa A has -pāṇa.

§ For -cchatā A reads -cchatrā.

hold the bow, the banner, the jewel, the Paraśu and the conch ; she bears the image of Ratnasambhava on the crown, has a blue bodice and a red scarf, sits in the Ardhaparyāṅka or the Lalita attitude and wears celestial ornaments and garments."

The form with four faces and eight arms will be described hereafter under the head, Pañcarakṣā Maṇḍala. But there is another form which is worshipped independently, in which case she is almost identical with the preceding one in all respects except that she is endowed with four faces and eight arms. The principal face is yellow, the right white, the left red, and the face behind blue. She carries in her four right hands the sword, the Cakra, the Triśula and the arrow, and in the four left the Paraśu, the bow, the noose and the Vajra.

Two photographs (Plate XXXV, b-c) represent this form of the goddess and these tally with the Sādhana in all other respects, but that instead of four they have only three faces.

## 2. VASUDHĀRĀ.

Colour—yellow.

Symbols—*right* Varada pose. *left* ears of corn and vessel.

Vasudhārā is the consort of Jambhala and bears the image either of Akṣobhya or of Ratnasambhava on the crown. Several Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā describe her form, which is always two-armed. As none of the Sādhanas mention the Āsana, she may be represented in any attitude standing or sitting. She is decently decked in ornaments and is invariably accompanied by her confidants. Her complexion is always yellow and she carries in her left hand, the ears of corn with the vessel that showers gems while the right hand exhibits the Varada Mudrā. The short Sādhana may be quoted as follows :—

"Pīta'vaṃ'kāraparīṇatāṃ dvibhujaiḥ kamukhīm pītāṃ navayauvanābharaṇavastravibhūṣitāṃ dhānyamañjarīnānāratnavarsaghaṭavāmahastāṃ dakṣiṇena varadāṃ anekasakhī janaparivṛtāṃ visvapadmacandrāsanasthāṃ Ratnasambhavamukuṭinīm [dhyāyāt]."

Vasudhārāsādhanaṃ."

Sādhanamālā, A—228—9, Na—2, C—181.

The worshipper should conceive himself as [Vasudhārā] who originates from the yellow germ syllable 'Vaṃ,' she is two-armed, one-faced, has yellow complexion, is in the fulness of youth and is decked in all ornaments and garments, carries in her left hand the ears of corn with the vessel showering

gems, while the right exhibits the Varada Mudrā; she is surrounded by her various companions, rests on the moon over the double lotus, and bears the image of Ratnasambhava on the crown....”

Images of Vasudhārā are not generally to be met with in sculpture. She accompanies Uccuṣma in the unique Sārnath image already referred to. The other image from Sārnath\*, is mutilated beyond recognition. In both cases, however, she has been represented as standing.

, Vasudhārā is sometimes represented as one-faced and six armed, and as sitting in the Lalita attitude. In the three right hands she exhibits the Namaskāra Mudrā, and the Varada Mudrā and the ears of corn. The first left hand has the book, the second the ears of corn, and the third on the lap carries the vessel containing jewels. Her hair rises upwards in the shape of a flame, she is beautifully decked in ornaments and displays a truly peaceful appearance. The image reproduced (Plate XXXV,d) represents this variety of the goddess and is a fine specimen of Newari art but shows a considerable influence of the Bengal School.

\* Sarnath Catalogue Plate XV(b).

## CHAPTER X.

### EMANATIONS OF THE FIVE DHYĀNĪ BUDDHAS.

#### I. GODS.

**Vajrasattva** is not included in the group of five Dhyānī Buddhas. He appears to be a later addition. The emanations of the five Dhyānī Buddhas are said to bear the images of **Vairocana**, **Amitābha**, **Akṣobhya**, **Ratnasambhava** and **Amoghasiddhi** on the crown ; but when represented, they are either painted or carved on the aureole behind the heads of the emanated deities. The five Dhyānī Buddhas, as has already\* been pointed out, are supposed to represent the five Skandhas and the essence of their emanations consists of a combination of all the five.

Besides several forms of **Mañjuśrī** and one form of **Avalokiteśvara**, two gods only are said to emanate from a combination of the five Dhyānī Buddhas. The first is **Jambhala**, (also regarded as an emanation of either, **Akṣobhya**, or **Vajrasattva**), and the second **Mahākāla**.

#### 1. JAMBHALA.

Symbols—citron and mongoose.

Almost all his different forms mentioned in the **Sādhanaṃālā** have already been described under the emanations of **Akṣobhya** and **Ratnasambhava** ; the form emanating from **Vajrasattva** will be described later. **Jambhala** as an emanation of the five Dhyānī Buddhas is two-armed, carries the citron and the mongoose in his two hands and tramples upon two semi human beings **Śaṅkhamuṇḍa** and **Padmamūṇḍa** apparently in the **Āliḍha** attitude.

\* Ante, p. 2

## 2. MAHĀKĀLA.

Appearance—terrible.

Colour—blue.

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

The reason why Mahākāla has been classified under the emanations of the five Dhyānī Buddhas is that one of the numerous Sādhana for the worship of Mahākāla gives him the epithet of "Pañcabuddhakirīṭanam," that is "bearing the images of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on the crown." He may have one face with two, four, or six arms, or eight faces with sixteen arms. He is one of the many terrible deities described in the Sādhanamālā, with ornaments of snakes, canine teeth, protruding belly and garments of tiger-skin. At least six Sādhana describe the two-armed variety of Mahākāla. One Dhyāna from among them is quoted below :—

"Śrī-Mahākālabhaṭṭārakaṃ dvibhujaṃ ekamukhaṃ kṛṣṇavarṇaṃ trinayanaṃ mahājīvāṇaṃ kartrikapāladhāriṇaṃ dakṣiṇāvāmabhujābhyāṃ muṇḍamālālaṅkṛtorddhvapiṅgaikaśopari pañcakapāladharaṃ daṃṣṭrābhīma-bhayānakaṃ bhujaṅgūbharanayajñopavītaṃ kharvarūpaṃ śravadrudhira mukhiṃ ātmānaṃ jhaṭīti niṣpādyā...."

Sādhanamālā. A—223, C—246\*.

The worshipper should conceive himself as Śrī Mahākāla Bhaṭṭāraka, who is two armed, one-faced, and of blue complexion ; who is three eyed, has fiery radiance, carries the Kartri and the Kapāla in the right and left hands bears the five skulls on the hair which is brown, and which rises upwards on the head, and is decorated with a row of [severed] heads ; who is terrible with awful fangs, is decked in ornaments of serpents and the sacred thread of a snake ; who is short and from whose mouth trickles forth blood. Thus quickly meditating...."

Images of Mahākāla abound in Nepal and are found in large numbers in Buddhist temples, monasteries and even in the streets. Sometimes only the head is represented. The image (Plate XXXVI,a) is the finest specimen of Mahākāla ever discovered belonging to Pandit Siddhiharṣa of Nepal. It is carved out from a block of fine black stone, so beautifully polished as to be mistaken for metal. Here the god tramples upon two human beings representing two dead bodies, as required by some of the Sādhana assigned to him, wields the menacing Kartri in the right hand and the kapāla full of blood in the left.

(ii) When four-armed he resembles the two-armed variety, with the difference that the former variety carries the Kartri and the Kapāla in the first pair of hands and the sword and the Khaṭvāṅga in the second pair.

\* Omitted in N.

(iii) When six-armed he appears like the one previously described, with the difference that he carries in his three right hands, the Kartri, the rosary and the Ḍamaru, and in the three left, the Kapāla, the Śūla, and the Vajrapāśa.

(iv) When sixteen-armed, he is eight-faced and represented in yab-yum in the embrace of his Śakti, and what is strange he is also four-legged. The Sādhana describes his form in the following terms :—

“ Ātmānaṃ Bhagavantaṃ ṣoḍaśabhuja-Mahākālaṃ bhāvayet : aṣṭava-danaṃ caturviṃśatinetraṃ catuṣcaraṇaṃ ṣoḍaśabhujaṃ : dakṣiṇakaraṇiḥ kartri-vajra-gajacarṇa-mudgara-triśūla-khaḍga-yamaḍaṇḍāḥ, vāmakaraṇiḥ rakta-pūrṇakapāla-gajacarṇa-ghaṇṭā-aṅkuṣa-svetacāmara-ḍamaru-naraśiro dadhānaṃ, ṣeṣabhujaḥpratyakṣaṃ Prajñālingitaṃ ; kharvakṛṣṇaṃ hāhāhīhīhepūrīta-mukhaṃ mahāraudraṃ trikāyātmavakam pañca-Buddhamukutaṇaṃ nara-muṇḍamālābharaṇaṃ bhayasyāpi bhayaṅkaraṃ ”

Sādhana-mālā, A—330—1, C—251.\*

The worshipper should conceive himself as Mahākāla with sixteen arms and eight faces, twenty-four eyes, four legs, sixteen arms, who carries in his [seven] right hands the Kartri, the Vajra, the elephant-hide, the Mudgara, the Triśūla, the sword and the staff of Yama, and in the [seven] left hands the Kapāla full of blood, elephant-hide, the bell, the goad, the white chowrie, the Ḍamaru and human head : while the two remaining hands are engaged in embracing the Prajñā ; who is short and blue in complexion, utters laughing sounds such as, hā hā, hī hī, he he ; who is terribly fierce, is the essence of the Three Kāyas, bears the images of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on the crown, is decked in garlands of heads as ornaments, and who is more awe-inspiring than Awe itself.”

The Sādhana further adds the information that Mahākāla should be surrounded by seven goddesses, three in the three cardinal points, (fourth being occupied by himself) and the other four in the four corners.

To the East is Mahāmāyā, wife of Maheśvara, who stands in the Ālīḍha attitude and rides a lion, who has four arms, out of which the two left hands carry the Kapāla and the Ḍamaru, and the Kartri and the Mudgara in the two right. She is blue in complexion, has dishevelled hair, three eyes and protruding teeth.

To the South is Yamādūtī, who is of blue complexion and has four arms. She carries in her two right hands the staff of lotus stalk and the Kartri, and in the two left the bowl of blood and the fly-whisk. She stands in Ālīḍha attitude, rides the buffalo and has dishevelled hair.

\* Omitted in the Nepal ms.

To the West is Kāladūti, who carries in her two left hands the Kapāla and the cow's head and in the two right the Mudgara and the Triśūla. She rides a horse and stands in the Āliḍha attitude, has a red complexion and dishevelled hair.

All these deities are terrible in appearance with protruding teeth and ornaments made of serpents.

The four corners are occupied by the following goddesses. Kālikā in the S. E. corner is blue in complexion, has two arms carrying the Kapāla and the Kartri and stands on a corpse in Āliḍha attitude. Carcikā in the S. W. corner has a red complexion, carries the Kartri and the Kapāla in her two hands and is similar to Kālikā in all others respects. Caṇḍeśvari in the N. W. corner has a yellow complexion, rides a corpse and carries in her two hands the grass and the deer, and stands in the Āliḍha attitude. Kulīśeśvari in the N. E. corner has white complexion, carries the Vajra and the staff, rides a corpse and stands in the Āliḍha attitude. These four deities are nude, and terrible with bare fangs, three eyes and dishevelled hair.

Surrounded by all these deities Mahākāla should be meditated upon as trampling upon Vajrabhairava in the form of a corpse.

Mahākāla is a ferocious god who is generally worshipped in the Tāntric rite of Māraṇa for the destruction of enemies. Mahākāla was also regarded as a terrible spirit, and was calculated to have inspired awe in the minds of those Buddhists, who were not reverential to their Gurus, and did not care much for the Three Jewels ; Mahākāla is supposed to eat these culprits raw, and the process of eating has been minutely detailed in almost all the Sādhana. The Sādhana generally states the following śloka in order to show the terrible nature of Mahākāla :—

Acāryye yaḥ sadā dveṣī kupito Ratnatraye'pi yaḥ ।  
 Anekasattvavidhvamsī Mahākālena khādyate ॥  
 Cchedayet svāṅgamāmsāni pivedrudhiradhārāyā ।  
 Śīrasi viniveśyaiva tilamātraṇca kartayet ॥\*

He who hates his preceptor, is adversely disposed to the Three Jewels, and destroys many animals is eaten up raw by Mahākāla.

He, [ Mahākāla ] cuts his flesh to pieces, drinks the blood, and [after] entering into his head breaks it into minute fragments."

\* Sādhana-mālā. A—323, C—246 (omitted in ms. N.)

## II. GODDESSES.

Four female deities emanate from a combination of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. They are Vajratārā, Sitatārā, Prajñāpāramitā and Kurukullā. Excepting Sitatārā all other goddesses are widely worshipped. The Sādhana-mālā shows unusual devotion to Vajratārā in as much as five long Sādhanas are assigned to her, and in all cases the same details of worship are recorded. Her worship is supposed to bring success in all Tāntric rites including the six cruel ones. One of the forms of Prajñāpāramitā and one of Kurukullā are said to bear the images of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown.

## 1. VAJRATĀRĀ.

Faces—four. Arms—eight. Colour—yellow. Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.  
 Symbols—right Vajra, Pāśa, Pañcha and arrow ;  
 left Vajrāṅkuśa, Utpala, bow and Tarjani.

We know of at least three images of Vajratārā, one, in the Indian Museum discovered in the District of Bhagalpore, the second, in Orissa, described in N. N. Vasu's *Mayurbhanj Archæological Survey*, and the third in Nepal. The Indian Museum bronze of Vajratārā is in the form of a lotus and represents the complete Maṇḍala with all the attendant deities. It is constructed in such a way as to be opened or closed at will. The petals are eight in number and each has a deity figured on it. There are several Sādhanas describing the form of Vajratārā, who is said to bear on the crown the images either of the five Dhyāni Buddhas or four of them. The Dhyāna describing her form with the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown is as follows :—

“ Mātṛmaṇḍalamadhyasthāṃ Tārādevīm vibhāvayet ।  
 Aṣṭabāhuṃ caturvaktrāṃ sarvālaṅkārabhūṣitāṃ ॥  
 Kanakavarṇanibhāṃ bhavyāṃ kumārilaṅkaṇojjvalāṃ ।  
 Pañca-Buddhamahāmukutīm vajrasūryyūbhīṣekajāṃ ॥  
 Navayauvanalābhaṇyāṃ calatkanakakuṇḍalāṃ ।  
 Viśvapaḍmasamāsīṇāṃ rakṭaprabhāvibhūṣitāṃ ॥  
 Vajrapāśatathāśaṅkhasaccharodyatadaḥṣīrāṃ ।  
 Vajrāṅkuśotpaladhanustarjanivāmadhārīṇīm ।  
 Vajraparyāṅkayogena sādhayet bhuvanatrayaṃ ॥

Sādhanamālā. A—95, N—67, C—73—4.

The worshipper should conceive himself as [ Vajra ]-Tārā who is in the midst of the circle of the Eight Mothers, is eight armed, four-faced, and decked in all ornaments ; whose complexion is like the colour of gold, who is



graceful, and resplendent with the auspicious marks of a virgin ; who bears the images of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on her great tiara, and is born of the offerings to the Vajra and the sun , who is effulgent in her blooming youth, has the dangling ear-ornaments, sits on the double lotus, and sends out radiance of red colour ; who carries in her right hands the Vajra, the noose, the conch, and the quick arrow, and in the left the Vajrāṅkuśa, the Utpala, the bow and the Tarjanī. Thus conceiving her as sitting in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude [the worshipper] may gain the three worlds."

The Sādhana further goes on to describe the deities constituting the Maṇḍala. In the four cardinal points there should be four goddesses on the four petals of the lotus on which Vajratārā sits.—

Pūrveṇa Puṣpatārāṃ tu sitavarṇāṃ manoramāṃ ।  
Omākārākṣaranīṣpannāṃ puṣpadāmakarākulāṃ ।  
Dvibhujāṃ ekavaktrāṇca sarvālankārabhūṣitāṃ ॥

" On the East is Puṣpatārā, who is white and elegant in appearance, is born of the syllable ' Om,' carries the garland of flowers, is two-armed, one-faced and is decked in all ornaments.

Dakṣiṇe Dhūpatārāṃ tu kṛṣṇavarṇāṃ surūpiṇīm ।  
Dhūpaśākhākāravayagrām sarvālankārabhūṣitāṃ ।

On the South is Dhūpatārā, who is of blue colour, of elegant appearance, carries the Dhūpa (incense) stick and is decked in all ornaments.

" Pāścime Dipatārāṇca dipayaṣṭikarākulī ।  
Pītavarṇāṃ mahābhūṣāṃ calatkanakakuṇḍalāṃ ॥ "

On the West is Dipatārā, who carries the light stick in her hands, is of yellow complexion, profusely ornamented and has dangling ear-ornaments.

" Uttare Gandhatārāṃ tu gandhaśaṅkhakarākulāṃ ।  
Raktavarṇanibhāṃ devīm bhāvayet garbhamaṇḍale ॥ "

On the North is Gandhatārā, who carries in her hands the conch of scents, has a red complexion, and all these [goddesses] should be situated in the inner circle."

The Sādhana further says that the following Guardians of the Gates should also be meditated upon round the principal goddess, apparently not in the same circle with the four described above.

" Pūrvadvāre Vajrāṅkuśīm ekavaktrāṃ dvibhujāṃ vajrāṅkuśotpalahas-tām vikṛtavadanāṃ kṛṣṇavarṇāṃ...."

In the Eastern Gate should be Vajrāṅkuśī, who is one-faced, two armed, carries the Vajrāṅkuśa and the Utpala, has a distorted face and blue colour.

" Dakṣiṇadvāre Vajrapāśī pītavarṇāṃ vikṛtānanāṃ ekavaktrāṃ dvibhujāṃ vajrapāśahastāṃ...."

In the Southern Gate is Vajrapāśī of yellow complexion, with one distorted face, and two arms carrying the adamantine noose.

“Pascimadvāre Vajrasphoṭīm raktavarṇām ekavaktrām dvibhujām vikṛtavadanām vajrasphoṭahastām....”

In the Western Gate is Vajrasphoṭī, who has a red complexion, one distorted face, two arms, and clapping hands.

“Uttaradvāre Vajraghaṇṭām śvetavarṇām ekavaktrām dvibhujām vikṛtavadanām vajraghaṇṭāhastām....”

In the Northern Gate is Vajraghaṇṭā, who is white, one-faced, two-armed, has a distorted face and carries a bell surmounted by a Vajra.”

All these goddesses stand in the Ālīḍha attitude, with the right leg stretched forward, on the seat of the sun. They have sun-like radiance, are surrounded with a fiery halo and are decked in ornaments of snakes. The upper region is occupied by Uṣṇīṣavijayā and the lower by Sumbhā.\*

The reason why Vajratārā is surrounded by these goddesses is that each of these goddesses originates from each of the ten letters of the Mantra of Vajratārā, which is ‘Om Tāre tuttāre ture Svāhā’, consisting of ten syllables. Each syllable brings forth a goddess, and these goddesses are said to be the embodiments of the Ten Pāramitās† of the Mahāyāna doctrine.

The following are some of the instances in which the Mantra of Vajratārā might be applied with success. A knot should be tied at the end of the cloth over which the Mantra has been recited seven times. If any man wearing this cloth goes even to the most inaccessible regions of the Vindhya mountains he will not be molested. Tigers, thieves, crocodiles, lions, snakes, elephants, buffaloes, bears, bulls and the like will fly away or even be destroyed at the mere recital of the name of the goddess. If one hundred and eight blue lotuses are offered into the fire with this Mantra any woman would be subdued. The feather of a crow over which this Mantra has been recited thirty-two times, if kept concealed within the house of an enemy, will destroy it mysteriously in course of a week. It is useless to multiply instances. In fact, in all matters Vajratārā is sure to ensure success to the worshipper and that is the reason why she is so popular among the Vajrayānists.

Among the three extant images of Vajratārā the one (Plate XXXVI, b) in Calcutta may be identified with this variety of Vajratārā. As the Dhyāni

\* Cf. “Uṛddhve Uṣṇīṣvijayāṃ adhaḥ Sumbhāṃ Vibhāvayet.”

† Cf. “Daśākṣarair-daśadevatya daśapāramitāśrayaḥ.”

Buddhas are not given she may, however, be regarded as an emanation of the four Dhyānī Buddhas also. The Orissa image belongs to the combination of four Dhyānī Buddhas, while the third also belongs to another variety of Vajratārā also emanating from four Dhyānī Buddhas.

## 2. PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ.

Mudrā—Dharmacakra. Distinctive feature—Book on lotus on either side.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.

This variety of Prajñāpāramitā is identical in all respects with one of the forms that has been described previously under the emanations of Akṣobhya, except that here she exhibits the Dharmacakra Mudrā with her two hands and from under her left and right armpits rise two lotuses bearing the Prajñāpāramitā Scripture. She is of golden complexion and bears the images of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on the crown\*. The form of Prajñāpāramitā described in Plate XXVIII,c, has only one lotus bearing the book in her left, but the Indian museum stone image (Plate XXXVI,c) with two lotuses on either side bearing the book, belongs most assuredly to this variety of Prajñāpāramitā.

## 3. MĀYĀJĀLAKRAMA KURUKULLĀ.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka. Arms—six. Colour—red.

The form of Kurukullā bearing the effigies of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on the crown is called Mayājālakrama-Kurukullā as the Sādhana is said to have been restored from the now lost Māyājāla Tantra by the Tāntric author† Kṛṣṇācārya. Several forms of Kurukullā have already been described under the female emanations of Amitābha. The six-armed variety only emanates from the combination of five Dhyānī Buddhas. In accordance with the

\* The Dhyāna is quoted as follows :—

“Bhagavati Prajñāpāramitā pītavarṇā dvibhujai kamukhī pañca-Tathāgatamakuṭī, vyākhyānamudrāvati, viśvadeśapadme candrāsanāśnā, sarvālaṅkāravastiravati, vāma-dakṣiṇapārśve utpalasṭha-Prajñāpāramitāpustakadhāriṇī.”

Sādhana-mālā. A—163-4, N—123, C—132.

† Cf the Colophon—“Śrīman-Māyājālamahāyogatantrāt ṣoḍaśasā' asrikāt ākṛṣṭa-Kurukullā-sādhanaṃ samāptaṃ.”

Sādhana she sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude, on the sun over the red lotus of eight petals. She has a red complexion, is clad in red garments, exhibits the Trailokyavijaya Mudrā in the first pair of hands, shows the Abhaya Mudrā and the sprout of a white Kunda flower in the second, and the rosāry and the Kamaṇḍalu in the third, bears the images of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on the crown,\* and sits on the back of Takṣaka. She has another form with six arms, which is not expressly called the Māyājāla Kurukullā, described in a separate Sādhana. According to this Sādhana, she exhibits the Trailokyavijaya Mudrā in the first pair of her hands, the Aṅkuśa and the red lotus in the second pair, and the full drawn bow charged with an arrow in the third.\* We have not yet been able to find out images of any of the two varieties of Kurukullā mentioned above.

#### 4. SITATĀRĀ.

Colour—white.

Arms—four.

Symbol—Utpalā.

Mudrā—Utpalamudrā in the first two hands and the Varada Mudrā in the third.

Sitatārā, as the name implies, is a Tārā of the white variety, with one face and four arms. She is accompanied by two goddesses, Māricī and Mahāmāyūrī. It may be remembered that Khadiravanī is also accompanied by Māricī and Ekajaṭā; but the difference is that Khadiravanī is two-armed whereas Sitatārā is four-armed. The Dhyāna contained in the only Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā describes her form in the following terms :—

Tārābhagavatīm śuklām trinetram caturbhujām Pañca-Tathāgatamukutīm nānālaṅkāraṁ, bhujadvayena utpalamudrām dadhanām, dakṣiṇabhujena cintāmaṇiratnasamyuktavaradām, sarvasattvānām āśām paripūrayantīm, vāmenotpalamañjarīm vibhṛāṇām dhyāyāt.

Tasya dakṣiṇapārśve Māricīm pītām candrāsanām nilāmbharām dvibhujām; vāmena raktāśokapallavadharām, dakṣiṇena sitacāmaradharām; rakta-kāñcukābharāṇām.

Vāmapārśve Mahāmāyūrīm priyaṅguśyāmām dvibhujām; vāmena mayūrpicchadharām, dakṣiṇena cāmaradharām, evaṁ vicintya....”

Sādhanamālā. A—114, N—82, C—89.

\* The Dhyāna may be quoted as follows :—

“....Vajraparyāṅkanīṣaṇṇām,....śadbhujām, savyāvasavyaprathamabhujābhyām Trailokyavijayamudrādharām, dvitīyadakṣiṇavāmakarābhyām aṅkuśaraktotpaladharām, pariśiṣṭakaradvayena ākarṣapūritadhanuśarām....pañca-Tathāgatamukutām.”

Sādhanamālā. A—207, N—115, C—162.

“ The worshipper should meditate in himself the goddess [Sita]-Tārā, of white complexion with three eyes and four arms ; who bears the images of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on the crown, is decked in many ornaments, exhibits the Utpala Mudrā in the first pair of hands, displays the Varada Mudrā along with the Cintāmaṇi in the right, and carries the Ūtpala bud in the left, and fulfils the prayers of all beings.

To her right is Māricī, who is yellow in complexion, sits on the moon, is clad in blue garments, is two-armed, and carries the bough with red Aśoka flowers in the left hand and the *fly-whisk* in the right, and who wears red bodice and ornaments.

To her left is Mahāmāyūrī of green complexion like the Priyaṅgu fruit, who is two-armed and carries the tail of a peacock in the left hand and the *fly-whisk* in the right. Thus meditating....”

## CHAPTER XI.

### § 1. EMANATION OF FOUR DHYĀNI BUDDHAS.

#### VAJRATĀRĀ.

Vajratārā is the only emanation of a combination of four Dhyāni Buddhas, but she has another form emanating from five. Here also she is accompanied by the usual eight goddesses (Mothers), in the four cardinal points and in the four intermediate corners. While the upper regions is occupied by Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Sumbhā remains below. Here also the Mantra is the same and each syllable of the Mantra brings forth one of the surrounding deities. In essence she is the same as has been previously described and she performs very nearly the same functions, and is invoked in the same rites including the six cruel Tāntric ones.

Several Sādhana describe two distinct forms of this goddess. In one she will be identical with the form described before under the emanations of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, with the difference that she should have the crest of the four Dhyāni Buddhas only instead of five. The Orissa image (Plate XXXVI,d) of Vajratārā belongs to this variety, although all the ten goddesses constituting the Maṇḍala are not represented. It has four companions only and these probably represent the four deities of the four cardinal points, Puṣpatārā, Dhūpatārā, Dīpatārā and Gandhatārā. The deity sitting below to the left of the principal goddess may be identified with Gandhatārā who is required by the Sādhana to hold the conch-shell full of scents : for, this figure clearly shows the conch over the two hands held in the Samādhi Mudrā.

(ii) The second form differs a little from the above as the weapons are not the same, or in the same order either. She carries in her four left hands the Utpala, the bow, the Aṅkuśa, and the Tarjanīpāsā, and in the four right the Vajra, the arrow, the conch and the Varada pose.\*

\* Prof. Foucher has quoted the Dhyāna of this variety of Vajratārā in explaining and identifying the Indian Museum bronze (fig. 5) illustrated in Plate XXXVI,b of this book. *L'Iconographie Bouddhique*, II, p. 70 *et seq.* I fail to understand, why the learned Professor chose this Dhyāna for quotation leaving the one with which the bronze accurately agrees. *Supra* ch. X.

One stone image ( Plate XXXVII,a) of this second variety of Vajratārā has been discovered at the Sarasvatīsthān close to the Svayambhū Temple in Nepal. It represents the goddess in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude with a form and weapons identical with the one described above. Though the crest of the four Dhyānī Buddhas is not present, yet, as this form agrees in all details with the Vajratārā emanating from the combination of the four Dhyānī Buddhas, we may reasonably regard the identification as correct.

One of the Sādhana of Vajratārā enumerates the four Divine Buddhas, and it is curious that Ratnasambhava is not one of them. This fact, again, points to his late incorporation into the brotherhood of the Divine Buddhas.

## § 2. EMANATIONS OF VAJRASATTVA.

That Vajrasattva is the latest incorporation into the brotherhood of the Divine Buddhas is amply borne out by the Sādhanamālā, in the whole of which only two deities are said to bear the image of Vajrasattva on the crown. One is a god and the other a goddess. It is not necessary, however, to repeat the description of Vajrasattva, who may be represented both singly and in yab-yum. He sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude, carries the Vajra in the right hand with palm upwards against the breast and the Ghaṇṭā in the left near the waist.

### 1. JAMBHALA.

Variety—yab-yam.

Arms—six.

Faces—three.

Attitude—Vajraparyāṅka.

Jambhala is the only male deity who is said to bear the image of Vajrasattva. The Sādhana describes his form with three faces, six arms and the image of Vajrasattva on the crown. From a study of the Sādhana we gather the following details about his form. He is white in complexion, and his two faces to the right and left of the principal one, are red and blue. He sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude and embraces Vasudhārā, his Svābhā Prajñā. With the two principal arms he embraces the Prajñā and remains in yab-yum; he carries in his two right hands the mongoose and the jewel, and in the two left the citron and the sword. In all other respects he is identical with the form discussed under the emanations of Akṣobhya.

## 2. CUNDĪ.

Colour—white.

Arms—four.

Symbols—*first pair*—vessel ; *right* Varada Mudrā ; *left* book on lotus.

According to the Sādhana-mālā, Cundā is the only feminine emanation of Vajrasattva, bearing the image of this Divine Buddha on the crown. Cundā is variously spelt as Cuṇḍā, Cundrā, and Cuṇḍrā, to whom three Sādhana are assigned. One of the Sādhana describes her form in the following words :—

“ Ārya-Cundāṃ śaraccandrābhāṃ ekamukhāṃ caturbhujāṃ varada-dakṣiṇabhujāṃ pustakāṅkitapadmavāṃabhujāṃ pātradhārīṣeṣabhujadva-yāṃ nānābharaṇavastravibhūṣitāṃ Vajrasattvamukutāṃ [dhyāyēt.] ”

Sādhana-mālā. A—142, Na—6, C—118.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as Ārya-Cundā, who is radiant as the autumn moon, is one-faced and four-armed ; who exhibits the Varada Mudrā in the right hand and carries the lotus bearing the book in the left, while the other two hands are engaged in holding the bowl ; who is decked in many ornaments and garments, and bears the image of Vajrasattva on the crown.”

Professor Foucher has discovered perhaps the only extant image (Plate XXXVII, b) of Cundā which is the nearest approach to the Sādhana though it does not follow it accurately. The photograph has already been reproduced in his *l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, partie 1\*. In this image, Cundā sits in the Paryāṅka attitude and carries in one of her right hands the rosary instead of showing the Varada Mudrā as required by the Sādhana. Over her head is a parasol and on the aureole are noticed two figures of Amitābha. Another Sādhana says that she should sit on an animal on the moon over lotus. Another form, not described in the Sādhana-mālā, with sixteen arms is said to have been installed in the Cundāvarabhavana at Paṭṭikerā in Bengal. This has also been reproduced by Prof. Foucher.†

We cannot agree however with the identification of the Java figure given on Pl. XLIV and explained on p. 265-6 in the “ Beginnings of Buddhist Art ” as that of Cundā. The stone image does not follow the Sādhana in important details. We venture to suggest that the figure is a male one and we should search for its identification in the direction of Lokēśvara or Mañjuśrī.

\* Op. cit. Part I. fig. 24.

† Op. cit. Part I, fig. 25 is a stone image of Cundā with sixteen arms.



In the same way we cannot agree also with the identification of a bronze\* offered by Dr. Coomaraswamy in J. R. A.S. 1909, as it does not follow the Sādhana in important details.

### § 8. THE PAÑCARAKṢĀ MĀṆḌALA.

The deities constituting the Pañcarakṣā Maṇḍala are called Mahā-pañcarakṣā deities and are five in number, to wit, Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, Mahāmantrānusāriṇī, Mahāmāyūrī and Mahāsītavatī. They are said to affiliate themselves to the five Dhyānī Buddhas and their forms have already been described under the feminine emanations of the different Dhyānī Buddhas. When they are worshipped in the Maṇḍala, their forms differ to some extent, and we shall presently describe these forms.

The Mahāpañcarakṣā deities are very popular with the Mahāyāna Buddhists inasmuch as every Buddhist priest keeps a copy of the Pañcarakṣā manuscript, which is neatly written, sometimes in gold and silver and with illustrations. That their worship was much in vogue is evident from the fact that every Vihāra in Nepal possesses images of these deities either in stone or in bronze.† The miniatures that are reproduced with this have been taken from a manuscript of Pañcarakṣā which is now in the possession of an American Anthropologist, Dr. W. Y. Evans Wentz, Ph.D. (Oxford).

The reason why the Pañcarakṣā deities are so popular are enumerated in the Sādhana named in the Colophon as "Pañcarakṣāvidhānam" in the Sādhananālā. The five deities when worshipped grant long life; they protect kingdoms, villages, and meadows; and protect men from evil spirits, diseases, and famines, and from all possible dangers that may befall humanity.

Prof. Foucher has given‡ only a general idea about the Pañcarakṣā deities. The following is an attempt to describe them more elaborately from the

\* Op. cit, 1909, p. 297, Pl. III, Fig. 1.

† In several of the Vihāras we made an attempt to photograph a series of bronzes but their inconvenient position did not allow us to do so with success.

‡ In his *Etude sur L'Iconographie Bouddhique de L'Inde*, II, p. 99 et seq. Prof. Foucher has quoted two Dhyānas of Mahāsītavatī and Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, as emanations respectively of Amitābha and Vairocana. But it may be pointed out that the two forms, such as has been described there, are not worshipped in the Pañcarakṣā Maṇḍala.

Dhyānas given in the Sādhnamālā, and to give an idea as to their respective positions in the Maṇḍala. It may be pointed out that all the five goddesses excepting Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, are peaceful in appearance, and each of them is distinguished by the foliage of a tree under the shade of which she rests. Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, as will be seen from the description given below, is terrible and awe-inspiring with bare fangs, three eyes rolling in anger and the ornament of human bones and skulls.

In the middle should be Mahāpratisarā, who is all white in complexion, of twice eight years, has the Caitya on the crown and the moon as her seat. She resides in the orb of the sun and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude. She has three eyes, eight arms, dangling ear-ornaments, necklace, Nūpura, golden armlets, girdle of gold and all other ornaments. She is four-faced ; the first face is white, right blue, left red and the fourth behind is yellow. She holds in her four left hands the Vajrapāśa, the Trisūla, the bow and the axe, and in the four right hands the Cakra the Vajra, the arrow and the sword. Over her head is the foliage of the Bodhi tree with various flowers and fruits\* (Plate XXXVII,c)

To the East of Mahāpratisarā is Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, who has blue complexion, brown hair rising upwards in the shape of a flame, and is decked in garlands of skulls. Her faces look terrible with contortions of the brows and canine teeth ; her seat is the burning sun on which she sits in the Lalita attitude, and tramples upon the evil spirits, the Bhūtas and the Yakṣas. She has golden armlets, necklace, Nūpura and other ornaments, is four-faced and eight-armed. The first right hand shows the Varada Mudrā, and the other three carry the Vajra, the Ankuśa and the sword. The four left hands carry the Tarjanīpāśa, the axe the bow and the sixteen jewels on the lotus. Her principal face is blue, the right white, the left green and the fourth behind yellow. Over her head is the foliage of the Bo-tree† (Plate XXXVII,d).

\* The text is as follows :—

“ Mahāpratisarā gauravarṇā dviraṣṭavarasākrī caityālaṅkṛtamūrdhā candrāsana-  
sthā, suryyamaṇḍalālīdhā vajraparyāṅkinī trinetrā, aṣṭabhuḃjā, calat-kuṇḍalatoḃhitā  
hāranūpura-bhūṣitā kanakakeyūramaṇḍitamekhālā sarvālaṅkāradhāriṇī. Tasyā  
Bhagavatyaḥ prathamamukhaṃ gauravarṇam, dakṣiṇam kṛṣṇam pṛṣṭhe pīṭam vāme  
rakṭam. Dakṣiṇapṛathamabhuḃje cakram, dvitīye vajram, tṛtīye śaraḥ, caturthe  
khaḍgaḥ ; vāmapṛathamabhuḃje vajrapāśaḥ dvitīye trisūlam, tṛtīye dhanuḥ, caturthe  
paraśuḥ ; Bodhivṛkṣopatoḃhitā, nānāpuṣpaphalādyaṅkṛtā.”

Sādhnamālā, A—217—18.

† Compare Text—Tasyā Mahāpratisarāyāḥ pūrvasyāṃ diśi.....Mahāsāhasra-  
pramardanī Kṛṣṇavarṇā piṅgalorddhvakeśā narakapālālaṅkṛtā bhrūbhṛkuṇḍamṛtākarā-  
lavadanā.....lalitākṣepena mahābhūtamahāyaksamākramanā.....tasyā dakṣiṇa-  
pṛathamabhuḃje varadavajram, dvitīye ankuśaḥ tṛtīye śaraḥ caturthe khaḍgaḥ, vāmapra-  
thamabhuḃje tarjanīpāśaḥ, dvitīye paraśuḥ, tṛtīye dhanuḥ, caturthe padmopari ṣoḍaśara-  
tnam.....Vajravṛkṣopatoḃhitā.  
Ibid, A—218.

To the right of Mahāpratisarā is Mahāmāyūrī who is yellow in complexion, rests on the orb of the sun and unlike others rides an animal. She is three-faced, three-eyed, and eight-armed; she has jewels on the crown and wears all sorts of ornaments. The first right hand exhibits the Varada pose, the second the vessel of gems, the third Cakra, and the fourth the sword. The first left hand carries the fruit\* on the bowl, the second the peacock's feather and the third the Ghaṇṭā surmounted by a Viśvavajra and the fourth the bejewelled banner. Her principal face is yellow, the right blue, and the left red. Over her head is the foliage of the Aśoka tree† (Plate XXXVIII,a).

To the West of the principal goddess Mahāpratisarā, is Mahāmantrānusāriṇī, who has white complexion, twelve arms, three faces each with three eyes, resides in the orb of the sun and wears the jewel on the crown. She is youthful and is decked in various ornaments. Her first pair of hands exhibits the Dharmacakra Mudrā, and the second the Samādhi Mudrā; the remaining hands show the Varada and Abhaya poses, the Vajra and the arrow in the four right hands; and carry the Tarjanipāśa, the bow, the jewel, and the lotus on the vessel in the four left hands. The principal face is white, the right blue and the left red. Flowers are strewn on all sides of the goddess, and over her head is the foliage of the Śirīṣa tree‡ (Plate XXXVIII,b).

To the North of Mahāpratisarā is Mahāsītavatī who has green complexion, resides in the orb of the sun, has three eyes, three faces and six arms, bears the image of the Tathāgata [ Amitābha ] on the crown, wears celestial ornaments, and garments. Her first right hand displays the Abhaya pose, the second has the Vajra and the third arrow. while the first left carries the

\* In two Mss. the expression is "pātropari bhikṣuḥ" meaning "the mendicant on the bowl," which I do not approve of. In the miniature the thing on the bowl seems to be a kind of fruit. It is, therefore, such a hazardous translation has been made.

† Compare Text—"Tato Mahāpratisarāyā dakṣiṇadigbhavane....Mahāmāyūrī pītavarṇā sūryyamaṇḍalālīḍhā sattvaparyāṅkinī. trimukhā....aṣṭabhujā.....tasyā dakṣiṇaprathamabhujē varada[m], dvitīye ratnaghaṭadharā, tṛtīye cakram, caturthe khaḍgaḥ; vāmaprathamabhujē pātropari bhikṣuḥ (?), dvitīye mayūrapicchaḥ, tṛtīye ghaṇṭopari viśvavajram, caturthe ratnadhvajam.....Aśokavṛkṣopasāmbhitā...."

Op. cit.—A—219.

‡ Compare Text—"Tasyā Pratisarāyā paścimadiśi.....Mahāmantrānusāriṇīm bhāvayet, śuklavarṇā dvādaśabhujā trimukhā....sphuratsūryyamaṇḍalālīḍhā.....Śirīṣavṛkṣopasāmbhitā; tasya prathamabhujābhyāṃ dharmacakramudrā, dvitīyabhujābhyāṃ samādhimudrā, tṛtīye varadaḥ, caturthe abhayaḥ, pañcame vajram, ṣaṣṭhe śarāḥ; tṛtīye tarjanipāśaḥ, caturthe dhanuḥ, pañcame ratnacchaṭā, ṣaṣṭhe padmāṅkitakalasaḥ (sic. Kamalaḥ, which is absurd)...."

Op. cit, A—219.

noose with the Tarjanī, the second the bow and the third the bejewelled banner. Over her head is the foliage of the Campaka tree\* (Plate XXXVIII,c).

The illustrations represent all the goddesses in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude except Mahāsāhasraprādānī, whose attitude is Lalita. They tally in all respects with the descriptions given in the Pancarakṣāvidhāna section of the Sādhana-mālā, referred to before.

## § 4. THE TĀRĀS.†

### I. ORDINARY.

Symbols—*right* Varada Mudrā; *left* lotus.

To Professor Foucher we are indebted for the classification of the various Tārās in accordance with colour. Strictly speaking, only those should be designated as Tārās, to whom the Mantra, Om Tāre tuttāre ture Svāhā, is assigned, and there are seven different variations of Tārā carrying the Utpala in the left hand and exhibiting the Varada Mudrā in the right. Out of these seven, two only bear the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown and the others do not bear any image of a Dhyānī Buddha. It is, therefore, difficult to identify the representations of the latter especially in stone when no colour is present. So a special attention should be paid not only to the particular pose in which the Tārās sit, but also to their companions if present, in order to arrive at a correct identification. In this section attempt would be made to indicate the characteristic features of each of the seven varieties for correct identification.

\* Compare Text—"Tato Mahāpratisarāyā uttarasyām diśi....Mahāsītavati, haritavarṇā sūryyamaṇḍalālīḍhā trimukhā trinetrā śaḍbhujā....; tasyā prathamabhūje abhayaḥ, dvitiye vajraṃ, tṛtiye śaraṃ; vāmaprathamabhūje tarjanīpāśaḥ, dvitiye dhanuḥ, tṛtiye ratnadhvajam.....Campakavṛkṣopasobhitā (śiśu-sobhitam).

Ms. A—220.

† In the Sādhana-mālā a very large number of goddesses has been designated as Tārās, some with the crest of the Dhyānī Buddhas and others without. In order to clearly distinguish between their forms it is necessary that they should be treated separately. I have classified them under two heads. The ordinary Tārās showing the Varada Mudrā in the right hand and carrying the Utpala or the lotus in the left; while the extraordinary forms of Tārā will embrace all goddesses designated as Tārās in the Sādhana-mālā.

## (i) GREEN TĀRĀ.

Amongst the green varieties of Tārā, Khadiravanī and Vaśyatārā have already been noticed under the feminine emanations of Amoghasiddhi. (i) Khadiravanī can be identified by the presence of Mārīcī and Ekajaṭā. (ii) Vaśyatārā has, as her characteristic feature, the European fashion of sitting (Bhadrāsana). It may be noticed, however, that she is described as single and is not accompanied by any other god or goddess. (iii) The characteristic features of Āryatārā are that she sits in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude and like the aforementioned one, is entirely alone. (iv) Mahattarī Tārā (Plate XXXIX,a) may be distinguished by the Vajraparyāṅka attitude in which she sits and also by the fact of her being represented without any companion. (v) Varada Tārā sits in the Ardhaparyāṅka like Āryatārā, but she can be easily recognized by the presence of four goddesses, Aśokakāntā Mārīcī, Mahāmāyūrī, Ekajaṭā and Jāṅgulī.

## (ii) WHITE TĀRĀ.

Under this head two varieties may be noticed, one is Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā and the other is Mṛtyuvañcana Tārā, also called Sitaṭārā or Vajratārā. (i) The distinguishing feature of Aṣṭamahābhaya Tārā is that she sits in the Ardhaparyāṅka attitude and is surrounded by the goddesses, originating from the ten syllables of the Tārā Mantra, identical with the principal figure in appearance. (ii) As regards Mṛtyuvañcana Tārā, the only distinctive feature of this goddess is that she bears a wheel on her breast. She is absolutely unattended and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude.

## II. EXTRAORDINARY TĀRĀS.

The seven different varieties of Ordinary Tārās carrying the Utpala in the left hand and showing the Varada Mudrā in the right have already been described. The other varieties of Tārā classified according to colour will now be dealt with. Their Mantra, however, is not necessarily the famous "Om Tāre tuttāre ture Svāhā" for, in this section have been included all the female deities called in the Sādhana-mālā by the name of Tārā.

## (i) GREEN TĀRĀ.

1. Durgottāriṇī Tārā. She has green complexion, lotus as her seat, and garments of white colour; she has four arms carrying in the first pair, the noose and the goad, and showing in the second the lotus and and Varada Mudrā.

2. Dhanada Tārā. She carries the book and the rosary in the first pair of hands, while the second pair carries objects similar to those held by Durgottāriṇī. She has an animal for her Vāhana and is accompanied by eight goddesses originating from the eight syllables of her Mantra, and bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown.

3. Jāṅgulī. She emanates from Akṣobhya and may have three different colours, yellow, white and green. When green, she is four-armed and carries the Triśūla, the peacock's tail, and a snake, and exhibits the Abhaya Mudrā in the fourth.

4. Parnaśavari. When green, she emanates from Amoghasiddhi, and from Akṣobhya when yellow, and as such, both of her forms have already been described. She is generally three-faced and six-armed, but in rare cases may have four arms. The peculiarity of the green variety is that all the three faces are depicted as irritated but smiling (sakrodha-hasitānanām).

## (ii) WHITE TĀRĀ.

1. Caturbhuja Sitatārā. As she bears the images of the five Dhyāni Budhas on the crown, her form has already been described. She has four arms which exhibit in the first pair, the Utpala Mudrā, and the rosary and the Varada pose in the second. She may be recognized by the presence of two goddesses, Mahāmāyūrī and Mārīcī.

2. Śaḍbhuja Sitatārā. As she bears the image of Amoghasiddhi on the crown, her form has already been described. She is three-faced and six-armed and has no companions.

3. Viśvamātā. She has been described in the Sādhana-mālā as one-face; with the white complexion of the moon, white garments and a white serpent as her Vāhana. She carries the white lotus in the left hand and exhibits the Abhaya pose in the right. She has not been described as bearing any image of her sire.

4. **Kurukullā** as an emanation of Amitābha of red colour generally assumes the red colour. But when she is two-armed, she has according to the *Sādhnamālā*, the white colour, and her form has already been described. She carries the rosary and the bowl of lotus, and her Vahana is an animal.

5. **Jāṅgulī** as an emanation of Akṣobhya ought to be of blue colour. But according to the *Sādhnamālā* she may have three colours, white, yellow or green. When white, she is one-faced and four-armed and plays on the *Viṇā* in the first pair of hands, and shows the white serpent and the *Abhaya* pose in the second.

(iii) **YELLOW TĀRĀ.**

1. **Vajratārā**. She is yellow, has four faces, eight arms bearing the images of four or five *Dhyānī* Buddhas on the crown. Both the forms of *Vajratārā* have been described previously. She is accompanied by ten goddesses when worshipped in the *Maṇḍala*.

2. **Jāṅgulī**. The yellow variety of *Jāṅgulī* has three faces and six arms, and bears the image of the *Dhyānī* Buddha *Akṣobhya* on the crown. This form has already been described.

3. **Parṇaśavarī**. When yellow, *Parṇaśavarī* is an emanation of *Akṣobhya*, and has three faces and six arms, and a pleasant smile instead of the irritated expression in her faces. This form of *Parṇaśavarī* has also been described under the feminine emanations of *Akṣobhya*.

4. **Bhṛkuṭī** is yellow and emanates from *Amitābha*. She is one-faced and four-armed, shows the *Varada Mudrā* and the rosary in the two right hands and carries the *Tridaṇḍī* and the *Kamaṇḍalu* in the two left.

5. **Prasanna Tārā**. She is also yellow and her form has not been described before as she is an independent goddess without the figure of any *Dhyānī* Buddha on the crown. The *Mantra* assigned to her, calls her by the epithets of *Amṛtamukhi* and *Amṛtalocanā*, and as a matter of fact, except the face on the top, all the seven faces are represented as having charmingly sweet appearance. She is unlike the other *Tārās*, benign and peaceful ; she is more like *Vidyujjvālākārālī*, a form of *Ekajaṭā*, than anybody else. The *Dhyāna* describes her form in the following terms :—

*Hemavarṇāṃ mahāghorāṃ Tārādevīm maharddhikāṃ trinetraṃ aṣṭa-vadanāṃ bhujaṣoḍaśabhūṣitāṃ ūrdhvapiṅgalakeśāṃ sādraśatārdhamuṇḍa-mālākṛtahārāṃ jagattrāṇāṃ mahāvalāṃ pratyāliḍhapadopetāṃ hasantīm*



25. Utnauti (?)  
Lokesvara



27. Brahmadanda  
Lokesvara



26. Vrsnācana  
Lokesvara



28. Acāta Lokesvara (?).





29. Mahāvajrasattva  
Lokeśvara



31. Sākyabuddha  
Lokeśvara



30. Viśvahana Lokeśvara



32. Śāṅsūti Lokeśvara



33. Yamadanda  
Lokesvara



35. Vajrahuntika  
Lokesvara



34. Vajroṣṇīṣa  
Lokesvara



36. Jñānadhātu  
Lokesvara



37. Kāraṇḍavyūha Lokeśvara.



39. Sarvaśokataṃonirghāta  
Lokeśvara.



38. Sarvaṇivaraṇa-Viskambhī  
Lokeśvara.



40. Pratibhānakakūṭa  
Lokeśvara.



41. Amṛtaprabhā  
Lokeśvara.



43. Candraprabhā  
Lokeśvara.



42. Jālinīprabhā  
Lokeśvara.



44. Avalokita  
Lokeśvara.



45. Vajragarbha  
Lokeśvara



47. Ratnapāṇi  
Lokeśvara



46. Sāgaramati  
Lokeśvara



48. Gaganagañja  
Lokeśvara



49. Ākāśagarbha  
Lokeśvara.



51. Akṣayanāti  
Lokeśvara.



50. Kṣitigarbha  
Lokeśvara.



52. Śrīkṣāntā  
Lokeśvara.



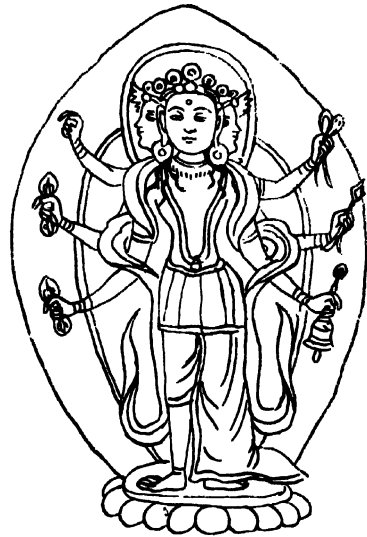
53. Sāmantabhadra  
Lokesvara



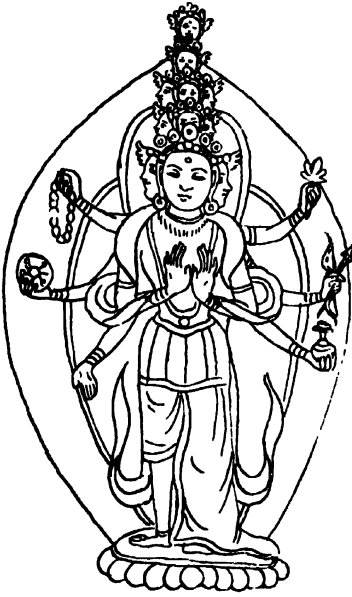
55. Mahāratnakīrti  
Lokesvara



54. Mahāsahasrabhūja  
Lokesvara



56. Mahāsāṅkhanātha  
Lokesvara



57. Mahāsahasrasūrya  
Lokeśvara.



59. Mahāpaṭala  
Lokeśvara.



58. Mahāratnakula  
Lokeśvara



60. Mahāmañjuḍatta  
Lokeśvara





61. Mahācandrabimba  
Lokeśvara



63. Mahā-Abhayaphalada  
Lokeśvara



62. Mahāsūryabimba  
Lokeśvara



64. Mahā-Abhayakari  
Lokeśvara



65. Mahāmañjūbhūta  
Lokeśvara



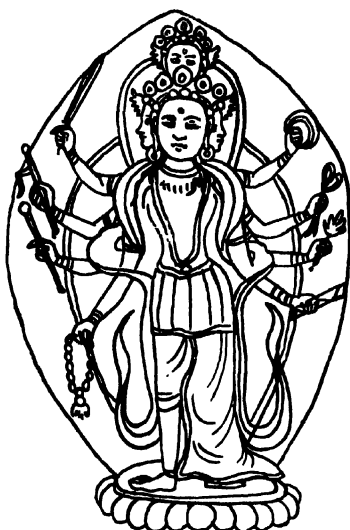
67. Mahāvajradhātā  
Lokeśvara



66. Mahāviśvaśuddha  
Lokeśvara



68. Mahāvajradhṛk  
Lokeśvara



69. Mahāvajrapāṇi  
Lokeśvara.



71. Amoghapāśa  
Lokeśvara.



70. Mahāvajranātha  
Lokeśvara.



72. Devadevatā  
Lokeśvara.



73. Piṇḍapātra  
Lokeśvara



75. Ratnadala  
Lokeśvara



74. Sārthavāha  
Lokeśvara.



76. Viṣṇupāṇi  
Lokeśvara.



77. Kamalacandra  
Lokeśvara



79. Acalaketu  
Lokeśvara.



78. Vajrakhaṇḍa  
Lokeśvara.



80. Śiṛiṣarā  
Lokeśvara



81. Dharmacakra  
Lokeshvara



83. Sarasiri Lokeshvara



82. Harivāhana  
Lokeshvara



84. Harihara  
Lokeshvara



85. Simhanāda  
Lokeśvara



87. Amitābha Lokeśvara



86. Viśvavajra.  
Lokeśvara



88. Vajrasattvadhātu  
Lokeśvara



89. Viśvabhūta  
Lokeśvara



91. Vajradhātu  
Lokeśvara



90. Dharmadhātu  
Lokeśvara



92. Śākyabuddha  
Lokeśvara





93. Cittadhātu  
Lokeśvara



95. Śāntamati  
Lokeśvara



94. Cintāmaṇi  
Lokeśvara



96. Mañjunātha  
Lokeśvara



97. Viṣṇucakra  
Lokēśvara



99. Viṣṇukāntā  
Lokēśvara



98. Kṛtāñjali Lokēśvarā



100. Vajrasrsta Lokēśvara



101. Śaṅkhanātha  
Lokeśvara



103. Nityanātha  
Lokeśvara



102. Vidyāpati  
Lokeśvara



104. Padmapāṇi  
Lokeśvara



105. Vajrajāni  
Lokeśvara



107. Vajranātha  
Lokeśvara



106. Mahāsthāmaprāpta  
Lokeśvara



108. ~ Śrīmad-  
Āryāvalokiteśvara



navayauvanām vicitravastranepathyām pradhānamukhaṃ pītaṃ, dakṣiṇaṃ dvitīyaṃ nīlaṃ, tritīyaṃ śyāmaṃ, caturthaṃ gaganaśyāmaṃ, vāmaṃ, kunda-sannibhaṃ, dvitīyaṃ raktaṃ, tritīyaṃ gaganaśyāmaṃ, ūrdhvāśyāṃ dhūmra-varṇābhaṃ mahāghoraṃ vikaṭotkataṃ; dakṣiṇakareṣu khaṭvāṅga-utpala-śara-vajra-aṅkuśa-daṇḍa-kartri-abhayadharāṃ; vāmaabhujēsu sapāsatarjanī-kapāla-dhanuḥ-khaṭvāṅga-vajrapāśa-Brahmaśiraḥ-ratnakalasadharāṃ; viśva-padmacandrasthāṃ sūryyaprabhāvibhūsitāṃ; vāmapādena Indraṃ, dakṣiṇa-pādena Upendraṃ, padadvayamadhye Rudraṃ Brahmāṇaṃ ca ākramya sthitāṃ, sarvamāravinaśiniṃ bhāvayet yogī.

Prasannatārāsādhanaṃ."

Sādhana-mālā, A—127-8, N—92, C—101.

"The worshipper should conceive himself as [Prasanna Tārā] who is of golden complexion, of terrible appearance, bestows prosperity, is three-eyed, eight-faced and sixteen-armed; whose brown hair rises upwards, whose bracelet is constituted of half a hundred heads wet with blood, who emanicipates the universe and is irresistible, stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, has smiling faces, is in fulness of youth; whose garments are of variegated colours; whose first face is yellow, the second to the right is blue, the third green, and the fourth blue like the sky; the face to the left is white like the Kunda flower, the second red, and the third blue like the sky; the face on the top is of the colour of smoke, terrible in appearance and is distorted and disfigured; in whose right hands are the Khaṭvāṅga, the Utpala, the arrow, the Vajra, the Aṅkuśa, the staff, the Kartri and the Abhaya pose, and in the left, the noose with the Tarjanī, the Kapāla, the bow, the Khaṭvāṅga, the Vajra, the noose, the head of Brahmā, and the vessel of gems; who stands on the moon over the double lotus, is radiant with the glow of the sun, tramples under her left foot Indra, under the right Upendra, and presses Rudra and Brahmā between the two, and who destroys all the Māras."

The accompanying sketch (Plate XXXVIII, d) shows how she is represented by the artists of Nepal in modern days, and it agrees with the description of the Sādhana in all important details.

#### (iv) BLUE TĀRĀ.

1. Ekajātā. She may have several forms with the blue colour and bears the image of her sire Akṣobhya on the crown in all cases. All her forms have been described previously under the emanations of Dhyānī Buddha Akṣobhya including the terrible form which goes by the name of Vidyujjvālā-karālī with blue colour, twelve faces and twenty-four arms.

2. Mahācīna Tārā. She also bears the image of Akṣobhya on the crown and has already been described under the feminine emanations of the Dhyānī Buddha. She gets the name of Mahācīna Tārā as she is believed to have come from Mahācīna, the place where she was originally worshipped.

She is the subject of the Mahācīnakrama-Tantra and has been incorporated wholly into the Hindu Tāntric Pantheon.

(v) RED TĀRĀ.

There are not many red Tārās in the Sāadhanamālā and in fact Kurukullā is the only one that belongs to the red variety. As she bears the image of red Amitābha on the crown, she gets also the red colour being one of his emanations, though her white forms are by no means rare. Kurukullā may also bear the image of the five Dhyānī Buddhas on the crown but the colour would be red in that case also. She will be white when two-armed, and red when four, six or eight-armed. Only when she is six-armed, she is regarded as an emanation of the five Dhyānī Buddhas. All her forms have also been described.

## CHAPTER XII.

### INDEPENDENT DEITIES.

#### I. GODS.

The deities discussed in this chapter are mentioned as Independent, and they do not, according to the *Sādhana-mālā*, bear any image of the Dhyānī Buddhas on the crown. It is therefore impossible to classify them in the way as we have hitherto done\*. The reason why the *Sādhana-mālā* is silent about their sires is not known. Either these deities were foreign to Buddhism and incorporated later on, as in the cases of Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī, or it may be, that the compilers of the *Sādhana-mālā* did not think it worth their while to mention the sires in all cases having already described many typical ones. But our ignorance does not allow us to find out the secret. Otherwise why should some of the deities with the same Mantra 'Om Tāretuttāreture Svāllā' bear the image or images of the Dhyānī Buddhas, while others are without them. It is not proposed to deal here with the deities of whom identical parallels have already been discussed. But we will take up only those that are absolutely independent and have not been described previously. It may be remarked that the images and paintings of gods do not generally bear the images of their sires on the crown, and when the latter is not present, what does it matter if they are emanated or independent? At least for the purpose of identification it has practically no value.

In the *Sādhana-mālā* there are six male gods who could not be assigned to their sires. This number is increased by one if we include Paramāśva, another form of Hayagrīva without crest, who emanates from either Amitābha or Akṣobhya. Not knowing to whom Paramāśva may be assigned†, he is dealt with under the independent deities. If we add Nāma-saṅgīti from *Dharmakośa-saṃgraha* of Amṛtānanda, the number rises to eight.

\* We may, however, suggest a tentative classification in accordance with colour and assign the gods or goddesses to the five Dhyānī Buddhas with five different colours. Thus the deities with blue colour may be assigned to Akṣobhya, yellow to Ratnasambhava, white to Vairocana and so on.

† Paramāśva cannot be dealt under the emanations of Amitābha because of his red colour, as Hayagrīva when an emanation of Akṣobhya even has the red colour.



## 1. GAṆAPATI.

Colour—red.

Arms—twelve.

Vāhana—mouse.

Āsana—Dancing in Ardhaparyāṅka.

Only one Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā describes the form of Gaṇapati. He is twelve-armed and one-faced and rides his favourite Vāhana, the mouse. The Dhyāna describes him in the following terms :—

“ Bhagavantam Gaṇapatiṃ raktavarṇam jaṭāmukuta-kiritaṇaṃ sarvā-bharaṇabhūṣitaṃ dvādaśabhujaṃ lambodaraikavadanaṃ arddhaparyāṅka-tāṇḍavam trinetraṃ api ekadantaṃ savyabhujēṣu kuṭhāra-śara-aṅkuśa-vajra-khaḍga-śūlaṇca ; vāmabhujēṣu mūśala-cāpa-khaṭvāṅga-asṛkkaṇḍa-śuṣkamaṇḍapa-kapāla-phaṭkaṇca raktapadme mūṣikopariṣṭhitaṃ dhyāyāt.”

Sādhanamālā. A—328, C—249\*

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as god Gaṇapati of red complexion, wearing the crown of chignon, who is decked in all ornaments, has twelve arms, protruding belly and one face, stands in the Ardhaparyāṅka in a dancing attitude, is three-eyed, and has one tusk ; who carries in his right hands the Kuṭhāra, the arrow, the goad, the Vajra, the sword and the Śūla, and in the left hands the Mūśala, the bow, the Khaṭvāṅga, the Kapāla of blood, the Kapāla of dried meat and the Phaṭka†; and who rides the mouse on the red lotus.”

## 2. BIGHNĀNTAKA.

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

Colour—blue.

Symbols—Tarjanīpāśa and Vajra.

Bighnāntaka is closely associated with three other gods, Padmāntaka, Yamāntaka and Prajñāntaka, who are generally represented as guardians of the gates in Maṇḍalas. Bighnāntaka is represented in various forms. The name is significant as the word “ Bighna ” or “ obstacle ” refers to the Hindu god, Gaṇeśa. Only one short Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā describes his form in the following terms :—

“ Ātmānaṃ pratyālīḍhapadaṣṭhitaṃ ekamukhaṃ dvibhujaṃ nīlavaraṇaṃ vāmakaṇḍa tarjanīkāpāśaṃ, dakṣiṇākareṇa udyatavajraṃ bhayānakam, piṅgalorddhvakeśaṃ . . . viśvalakṣmaṇaṃ sūryasthaṃ bhāvayet.

Bighnāntakasādhanaṃ.” Sādhanamālā. A—806, Na—45 C—285.

\* Omitted in Ms. N.

† It is not clear, however, what this word ‘ Phaṭka ’ means. The broken tusk in one hand is almost compulsory for all images of Gaṇeśa. May the word here stand for the broken tusk ?

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as [Bighnāntaka], who stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, is one faced, two-armed, has blue complexion, carries in his left hand the Tarjanīpāśa, and weilds the Vajra in the right ; is terrible in appearance, has brown hair rising upwards, . . . , whose seat is on the sun supported by the lotus.”

This Sādhana is silent about the prostrate figure of Gaṇeśa whom he tramples under his feet, thereby giving a significance to his name as already indicated. It may be pointed out here that the god Gaṇeśa, whom the Hindus consider as the remover of all obstacles, is regarded as the most dangerous obstacle by the Buddhists. As to the origin of this god there runs a Nepālese legend\* that at a certain time an Oḍiyāna Paṇḍit was performing certain Tāntric rites on the bank of the Bāghmatī river near Kāthmāṇḍu in order to obtain a particular Siddhi (perfection). Gaṇeśa, it is said, being strongly opposed to the idea, began throwing dangerous obstacles on the way of the performance of the rite. The Oḍiyāna Paṇḍit without seeing any succour invoked the god Bighnāntaka, the destroyer of all obstacles, and lo ! Bighnāntaka instantly appeared in a terrible and fierce form, armed with many destructive weapons. He gave a hot chase to Gaṇeśa who was, by this time, flying in terror, and in no time overcame the latter.

In the representation it may be seen how Bighnāntaka is pressing Gaṇeśa with his heavy legs, and the latter in order keep up the reputation of his god-head, exhibits the Abhaya pose even in the agony of pain. The form in which Bighnāntaka is said to have appeared before the Oḍiyāna Vajrācāryya has six arms. He carries in the two principal arms the Kartri and the Kapāla against the breast ; the rest carry the Ḍamaru and the goad in the right, and the Trīśūla and the noose with the Tarjanī in the left ( Plate XXXIX, b).

This image was bought from Nepal and is now deposited in the Museum of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat at Calcutta.

### 3. VAJRAHUNKĀRA.

Appearance—terrible.	Symbols—Vajra and Ghaṇṭā.
Mudrā—Vajrahunkāra.	Arms—two.
Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.	Vāhana—Śiva.

Only one short Sādhana in the Sāadhanamāla describes the form of the god Vajrahunkāra, who is so-called because his two hands carrying the Vajra and the Ghaṇṭā exhibit the Vajrahunkāra Mudrā. The Sādhana says that the god originates from the sacred syllable ‘Hum’, which is irresistible like the

\* The story has been recorded a little differently in the Dharmakośasamgraha, A. S. B. Ms. Fol. 106.

Fire of Destruction, is blue in colour and strongly radiant. The Sādhana adds further :—

“Tadutpannam mahāraudram Vajrahunkārasamjñakam ।  
Aṭṭahāsam mahāraudram kṣepayantam tridhātukam ॥  
Ghaṇṭāvajraprayogena mudrābaddhakaradvayam ।  
Pratyālīḍhapadenaiva Bhairavākṛāntabhīkaram ॥”

Sāghanamālā. A—278, Na—81, C—216.

“The worshipper should conceive himself as the god of the name of Vajrahunkāra, who originates from that syllable [Hum], who is terribly fierce in appearance, laughs horribly, is wrathful, and disturbs the three Worlds; whose two hands carrying the Ghaṇṭā and the Vajra are locked in the Vajrahunkāra Mudrā; who tramples upon Bhairava in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, and inspires awe.”

It may be pointed out that though Vajradhara also displays the Vajrahunkāra Mudrā and carries the Ghaṇṭā and the Vajra exactly in the same way as Vajrahunkāra does, there are too many differences between their forms. Vajradhara sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus and has a peaceful and a graceful appearance. But Vajrahunkāra stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, tramples upon Bhairava, a form of the Hindu god, Śiva, and has a terrible appearance. No connection can, however, be established between the two.

#### 4. BHŪTADĀMARA.

Colour—black as collyrium.	Appearance—terrible.
Arms—four.	Symbols—Vajra and Tarjanī.
Mudrā—Bhūtaḍāmara Mudrā.	

Three Sāghanas in the Sāghanamālā describe the form of Bhūtaḍāmara, who is terrible and awe-inspiring with ornaments of snake, canine teeth, and garlands of skulls. The Dhyāna runs as follows :—

“Ātmānam paśyet raudram ca jvālāmālākulaprabham ।  
Caturbhujam mahākrodham bhinnāñjanasamaprabham ॥  
Dakṣiṇe vajramullāya tarjayan vāmapāṇinā ।  
Daṁṣṭrākārālavadanam nāgāṣṭakavibhūṣitam ॥

.. .. .

Kapālamālāmukutaṁ trailokyam api nāśanam ।  
Aṭṭahāsam mahānādam trailokyādhiṣṭhitam prabham ॥  
Pratyālīḍhasamsthānam ādityakoṭitejasam ।  
Aparājītapadākṛāntam mudrābandhena tiṣṭhati ॥

Bhūtaḍāmarasāghanam.” Sāghanamālā, A—285, C—221, Na—91.

The worshipper should conceive himself as [Bhūtaḍāmara] who is wrathful in appearance, round whose person radiate fiery flames, who is four-armed, terribly angry, and is resplendent like a broken lump of collyrium, weilds the Vajra in the right hand and shows the Tarjanī in a threatening attitude in the left ; whose face appears terrible with bare fangs ; who is decked in ornaments of eight serpents ;.....has the garland of skulls on the crown, is capable of destroying the three Worlds, laughs horribly, trumpets loudly and is the lord of the three Worlds ; who stands firmly in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, is resplendent like myriads of suns, and tramples under his feet, the god, Aparājita and exhibits (in his two other hands) the (Ḍāmara) Mudrā.

So from the Dhyāna it appears that the god in his two principal hands exhibits the Bhūtaḍāmara or the Ḍāmara Mudrā, while the other two carry the menacing Vajra in the right and exhibits the Tarjanī in the left. The description of this Mudrā appears in the same Sādhana.\*

#### 5. VAJRAJVALĀNALĀRKA.

Colour—blue.	Faces—four.
Arms—eight.	Āsana—Ālīḍha.
Vāhana—Viṣṇu and his wife.	

Only one Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā describes his form. He is four-faced, eight-armed, stands in the Ālīḍha attitude, and tramples upon Viṣṇu, who is accompanied by his wife. He has blue complexion and presents a terrible appearance. The Dhyāna describes him in the following terms :—

“ Vajrajvalānalārkaṃ nilavarṇaṃ jvalāmālākulaprabhaṃ caturmukhaṃ aṣṭabhujaṃ śṛṅgāra-vīra-bībhatsa-karuṇānvitacaturmukhaṃ, caturbhir-dakṣiṇakarair-vajra-khaḍga-cakra-bāṇadharaṃ caturvāmakarair-ghaṇṭā-cāpa-pāśa-khaṭvāṅgāsaktavicitrapatākādharaṃ jvaladanalakapilaśikhūkalāpaṃ atibhīṣaṇamahāhivalayakaṅkana-kaṭisūtranūpura-kaṇṭhikā-kuṇḍala-mukuṭa-bharaṇaṃ Mahāmāyācakravaraṇacaturaṃ sapatnikam Viṣṇuṃ ālīḍhapadena ākramaṃ avasthitaṃ bhāvayet ”

Sādhanamālā. A—342, Na—33, C—217.

“ The worshipper should conceive himself as Vajrajvalānalārka of blue complexion, round whose person radiate fiery flames, who is four-faced and eight-armed ; whose four faces display the sentiments of amour, heroism, disgust and compassion ; who carries in his four right hands the Vajra, the sword, the Cakra and the arrow, and in the four left the Ghaṇṭā, the bow,

\* The description of the Mudrā is given in the following verse in the Sādhanamālā—

“ Anāṇikādvayaṃveṣṭya tarjanīdvayaṃ kuñcayet ।  
Kaniṣṭhāṃ madhyamāṃścaiva jyeṣṭhāṅguṣṭhena cākramet ॥ ”

noose, and the Khaṭvāṅga surmounted by the banner of variegated colours ; whose brown hair resembles a burning flame ; who is decked in ornaments of bracelet, armlet, girdle, nūpura, torque, earring and tiara consisting of the [ eight ] great lords of frightful serpents ; who stands in the Ālīḍha attitude and tramples upon Viṣṇu with his consort who are expert in choosing the discus of Mahāmāyā.\*

#### 6. TRAILOKYAVIJAYA.

Colour—blue.

Faces—four.

Arms—eight.

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

Vāhana—Gauri and ḡiva.

Trailokyavijaya has also the blue colour, is terrible in appearance, and inspires awe. Two images of this divinity have been noticed by Prof. Foucher ; one hails from Java,† and the other is preserved in the monastery of the Hindu Mohānta at Bodh Gaya ( Plate XXXIX,c)‡. The Dhyāna describes his form in the following words :—

“ Trailokyavijaya-Bhaṭṭārakaṃ nilaṃ caturmukhaṃ aṣṭabhujaṃ ; prathamamukhaṃ krodhaśṛṅgāraṃ, dakṣiṇaṃ raudraṃ, vāmaṃ bibhatsaṃ, pṛsthāṃ vīraśaṃ ; dvābhyāṃ ghaṇṭāvajrānvitahastābhyāṃ hr̥di vajrahūṅkāra-mudrādharaṃ ; dakṣiṇātrikarāṇi khaṭvāṅgāṅkuśabāṇadharaṃ, vāmātrikarāṇi cāpāpāśavajradharaṃ ; pratyālīḍhena vāmapādākṛānta-Maheśvaramastakaṃ dakṣiṇapādāvaṣṭabdhā-Gaurīstanayugalaṃ ; Buddhasragdāmamālādivicitrāṃ barābharaṇadhāriṇaṃ ātmānaṃ vicintya....”

Sādhana-mālā. A—841, Na—82—88, C—217.

“ The worshipper should realize himself as Trailokyavijaya Bhaṭṭāraka of blue complexion, four-faced and eight-armed ; the first face displays the sentiment of wrathful passion, the right displays rage, the left disgust, and the face behind the sentiment of heroism ; who exhibits the Vajrahūṅkāra Mudrā with the two hands bearing the Ghaṇṭā and the Vajra against the breast ; and carries in his three right hands the Khaṭvāṅga, the goad, and the arrow, and in the three left, the bow, the noose and the Vajra ; who, standing

\* The expression “Mahāmāyācakravarapaścaturam” seems to establish a connection between this god and Mahāmāyā.

† *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pl. XIII, 2. See also the masterly refutation of Dr. Pleyte's identification by the author on p. 268, which is simply enjoyable.

‡ The photograph representing Trailokyavijaya has been taken from M. Foucher's *Étude sur L'Iconographie Bouddhique de L'Inde*, partie 2. It may be noticed that the two prostrate figures of Mahēśvara and Gauri are in yab-yum.

in the Pratyālīdha attitude, tramples upon the head of Maheśvara with his left leg, while the right presses upon the bosom of Gauri ; who wears garments of variegated colours, and many ornaments and garlands pertaining to (the respective) Buddhas. Thus meditating....”

#### 7. PARAMĀŚVA.

Faces—four.

Arms—eight.

Legs—four.

Vāhana—four gods and four goddesses.

We have already said that Paramāśva is another form of Hayagrīva, as the word “*śva*” in Paramāśva indicates. In the Sādhana it is said that he should have four faces, but in reality he has seven faces, for one of his faces, is said to be Brahmamukha, or the face of Brahmā, who is credited with four faces. The other peculiar feature of this god is that he has four legs and each leg tramples upon two deities. The Dhyāna contained in the Sādhanamālā is quoted below :—

“Paramāśvaṃ raktaṃ caturmukhaṃ aṣṭabhujaṃ catuṣcaraṇaṃ ; prathamamukhaṃ krodhaśṛṅgāraṃ trilocaṇaṃ, dakṣiṇaṃ raudraṃ, vāmaṃ Brahmamukhaṃ, mūrdhni lalitoddhūlitoṣṭhaṃ haritāśvamukhaṃ ; ekena dakṣiṇatripatākādharakareṇa viśvavajrasahitenottīṣṭhābhinayaṃ kurvantaṃ ; ekena vāmakhetakahastena viśvapadmaṃ dhārayantaṃ ; punardakṣiṇatripatākākareṇa uttīṣṭhābhinayaṃ kurvantaṃ ; punarvāmakareṇa śaktim dhārayantaṃ ; punardakṣiṇakarābhyāṃ khaḍgaṃ bānaṃ, avasīṣṭavāmakarābhyāṃ daṇḍaṃ cāpaṃ dhārayantaṃ. Pratyālīdheṇa dakṣiṇapādajkena Indrāṇiṃ Śrīyaṇa ākramya sthitaṃ, dvitīyadakṣiṇacaraṇena Ratiṃ Pritiṇa, vāmaprathamapādena Indraṃ Madhukaraṇa, vāmadvītiyapādena Jayakaraṃ Vasanatāṇa, ityātmānaṃ dhyāyāt....

Iti Paramāśvasādhanaṃ.”

Sādhanamālā, A— 280, Na—32. C—217-18.

“The worshipper should meditate on himself as Paramāśva, who has red complexion, is four-faced, eight-armed and four-legged. The first face with three eyes displays angry passion, the second depicts wrath, the third is the face of Brahmā, and the fourth on the top is green, distorted like a horse with its lower lip beautifully protruding. He wields the double Vajra, in one of his right hands with three fingers erect (Tripatākā) and in one of his left hands carries the staff with the double lotus. Another right hand, with three fingers erect, is raised upwards, and the other left carries the Śakti (dart). The remaining two right hands carry the Khaḍga and the arrow, and the remaining left carry the staff and the bow. He stands in the Pratyālīdha attitude, and tramples with one of the right legs upon Indrāṇi and Śrī, and with the

second Rati and Priti ; with one of the left legs Indra and Madhukara, and with the other left Jayakara and Vasanta."

Paramāśva is illustrated in the accompanying drawing ( Plate XXXIX,d) prepared by a native Citrakāra of Nepāl. Though it does not correspond to all the details of the Sādhana still it is important as showing many minor details without which the Sādhana becomes practically unintelligible.

### 8. NĀMASAṄGĪTI.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.

Arms—twelve.

Colour—white.

Mudrās—two Abhayaś, Añjali, Kṣepaṇa and Samādhi and two Tarpaṇas.

Symbols—*right* sword on double lotus ; *left* Khaṭvāṅga surmounted by a Vajra.

Paṇḍit Amṛtānanda's Dharmakoṣasamgraha gives the description of a very interesting god, who goes by the name of Nāmasaṅgīti, and thus enables us to identify his images which are scattered about in Nepal in large numbers. He should be distinguished from the Nāmasaṅgīti Mañjuśrī who has been described before,\* as the former seems to us to be the Deification of the Nāmasaṅgīti literature in exactly the same way as Prajñāpāramitā is regarded as a goddess. Paṇḍit Amṛtānanda characterises him as a Buddha, but from the description and the illustration given it would appear that he cannot be a Buddha but a Bodhisattva, for among other things we cannot expect to find the magical instrument, the Khaṭvāṅga as also the destructive weapon like the sword in the hands of any Buddha. As there is no mention of the crest in the Dhyāna he is dealt with as Independent. Images of Nāmasaṅgīti are to be found in large numbers in Nepal either in stone ( Pl. XL,a)† or in bronze ( Plate XL,b), and he is also extremely popular in Tibet. Getty‡ erroneously designates this divinity as a " Dogmatic Form of Avalokiteśvara" and erroneous also are the names given by her of the series of the Mudrās

\* Supra p. 23.

† Some of the arms in the stone image are broken ; the image hails from the Sarasvatīsthān in Nepal. The bronze is in the collection of Paṇḍit Siddhiharṣa.

‡ The Gods of Northern Buddhism, p. 63.

that are exhibited by the god. The Dhyāna as given in the Dharmakoṣa-saṃgraha is quoted as follows :—

“ Nāmasaṅgītināma [ Bodhisattva ].\* ”

Ekavaktraḥ śvetavarṇaḥ dhyānanayanaḥ smerānanaḥ jaṭāmukutaḍharaḥ  
nānālankārālankṛtaḥ saṃmudrālankṛtaḥ dvādaśabhujah prati smābhyāṃ savya-  
dakṣābhyāṃ hrdayapradeśe abhyamudrādvayaṃ, dvāyābhyāṃ mukuṭopari  
kṛtāñjalimudrāṃ, dakṣatṛtīyena viśvavajropari khaḍgaṃ, savyavāmacaturthā-  
bhyāṃ tarpaṇamudrādvayaṃ, savyavāma-pañcamābhyāṃ pātrasthāmṛtakṣe-  
panamudrāṃ, ṣaṣṭhasavyavāmaśābhyāṃ sapātradhyanamudrāṃ vāmātṛtīyena  
savaṃjraḥ khaṭvāṅgaṃ dadhānaḥ, kamalopari vajrāsanaḥ.”

Dharmakoṣasaṃgraha (A.S.B. Ms.) : Fol. 91.

The [ Bodhisattva ] Nāmasaṅgīti.

“ He is one-faced, white in colour, has eyes (half-closed) in meditation, smiling countenance, the crown of chignon and various ornaments, is decked in the six auspicious ornaments, and twelve-armed. He exhibits in the first pair of right and left hands the two Abhaya Mudrās against the breast, and in the second pair the Añjali (clasped hand) Mudrā over the crown. The third right hand carries the sword on the double lotus. The fourth pair exhibits the Tarpana Mudrās, the fifth pair shows the Mudrā of sprinkling nectar from the vessel ( Kṣepana ) and the sixth pair exhibits the Samādhi Mudrā on which is the vessel (of nectar); the third left hand carries Khaṭvāṅga surmounted by the Vajra; and he sits in the meditative pose on the lotus.”

The image reproduced by Getty† has lost the sword on the double lotus and the Khaṭvāṅga surmounted by the Vajra‡ carried in the third pair of hands by Nāmasaṅgīti.

## II GODDESSES.

The feminine deities that are not directly or indirectly expressed in the Sādhana-mūlā to be the emanations of any Dhyānī Buddha or a combination of four or five of them, are four§ in number, and if we include the three deities mentioned in the Dharmakoṣasaṃgraha of Amṛtānanda, the number would be increased to seven. A tentative classification may also be suggested in

\* The A. S. B. and Nepal Mss. both read “ Buddhaḥ.”

† Getty and Deniker's *The God of Northern Buddhism*, Plate XX bearing the label “ Dogmatic form of Avalokiteśvara.”

‡ I have seen in some of the paintings of Nāmasaṅgīti, the Book on lotus instead of the Khaṭvāṅga topped by a Vajra, in one of the hands of the third pair, which carries in that case the sword and book on lotuses—the two symbols of Mañjuśrī. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose the two to be of a similar nature. We may even go so far as to call Nāmasaṅgīti, a variety of Mañjuśrī.

§ Praśanna Tārā, as an independent goddess, has been described under section 4 : Chapter XI. If she is included the number is five.



these cases according to the colour of the Dhyāni Buddhas. But in view of the insufficiency of materials, it is not proper to have recourse to such a classification. To illustrate the statement let us take up a concrete example. We know Jāṅguli is an emanation of Akṣobhya, and she is credited in the Sādhnamālā with three different colours, except the blue one, the colour of Akṣobhya. Supposing for argument's sake the crest of the Dhyāni Buddha had not been mentioned in the Sādhnamālā in this case, should we not be misled by assigning to three different Dhyāni Buddhas (excepting her own sire Akṣobhya), the three varieties of Jāṅguli?

#### 1. SARASVATĪ.\*

Sarasvatī is the name of an ancient river now dried up in the sands of Rajputānā, and on the banks of this river the Vedic Aryans originally settled after their migration to India. As the banks of the river were occupied by the Vedic Aryans who composed many hymns, and were the scene of many sacrifices, the river was, later on, in the Paurāṇic age, deified as the goddess of Learning. The Buddhists borrowed this Hindu goddess, incorporated her bodily into their Pantheon in the Tāntric age, when she was equally popular amongst the Hindus as well as the Buddhists,—and modified her form in various ways. The Buddhist Sarasvatī may have one face with two arms, or three faces with six arms. When two-armed, she has four different variations. As her worship is widely prevalent among the Buddhists owing to the belief that like Mañjuśrī and Prajñāpāramitā, she confers wisdom, learning, intelligence, memory, etc., a comparatively large number of Sādhnas are assigned to her in the Sādhnamālā.

##### (i) Mahāsarasvatī.

Symbols—*right* Varada Mudrā; *left* lotus.

Colour—white.

She has white complexion and shows the Varada pose in the right hand and carries the white lotus in the left. The Dhyāna describes her form in the following terms :—

“ Bhagavatīm Mahāsarasvatīm anuvicintayet; śaradindukarākārām sita-kamlopari candramaṇḍalasthām; dakṣiṇakareṇa varadām, vāmcna sanā-lāsitasarojadharām smeramukhīm atikaruṇāmayām śvetacandanakusumavasanadharām muktāhāropaśobhitahrdayām nānāratnālankāravatīm dvā-daśavarṣākṛtīm muditakucamukuladanturorastaṭīm sphuradanantagabhastivyūhāvabhāsitalokatrāyām...”

Sādhnamālā. A—172, C—128, C—140.

\* The Java image illustrated in Fig. 199, p. 264 and identified as “Sarasvatī enthroned” in Vincent A. Smith's monumental work, *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, is in reality an image of Jambhala, for, it shows clearly the mongoose in the left hand.

"The worshipper should conceive himself as goddess Mahāsarasvatī, who is resplendent like the autumn moon, rests on the moon over the white lotus, shows the Varada Mudrā in her right hand, and carries in the left the white lotus with a stalk ; who has a smiling countenance, is extremely compassionate, wears garments decorated with white sandal flowers ; whose breast is decorated with the pearl-necklace, who is decked in many ornaments, appears as a girl of twelve years, whose chest is uneven with half-developed breasts like flower-buds ; and who illumines the three worlds with the immeasurable light that radiates from her body."

This is the general appearance of Sarasvatī, and all the other varieties unless otherwise stated, are identical in appearance with the one just described. The distinctive feature of this goddess Mahāsarasvatī is that she shows like the ordinary Tārā the Varada Mudrā in the right hand and carries the lotus in the left, ( Plate XL,c)\* and is accompanied by four deities identical in form around her. Prajñā is in her front, Medhā to her right, Smṛti in the left, and Matī in the West.† These four divinities may also accompany other varieties of Sarasvatī. As the Sādhana is silent about the particular Āsana, she may be represented in any attitude, sitting or standing.

#### (ii) Vajravīṇā Sarasvatī.

Colour—white.

Symbol—Vīṇā.

Vajravīṇā Sarasvatī, like Mahāsarasvatī, is also white in complexion, peaceful and benign in appearance. She is also two-armed, but the distinguishing feature in this case is that she carries in her two hands the Vīṇā, a kind of stringed instrument and plays upon it. She may also be represented as accompanied by the four divinities as in the previous case.

#### (iii) Vajraśārādā.

Symbols—*right* lotus ; *left* book.

According to the Dhyāna in the Sādhanamālā she rests upon a pure white lotus, and a crescent decorates her headdress ; she is three-eyed and two-

\* First published in the A. S. I. Central circle : Annual Report, 1919-20, Plate IV, fig. a.

† Compare Text—

"Tataḥ purato Bhagavatīm Prajñām, dakṣiṇato Medhām, pāścimato Matīm, vāmataḥ Smṛtiṃ—etāḥ svañāyikā-samānavarṇādikāḥ sammukhamavasthitāḥ cintā-niyāḥ."

Op. cit. A—17.

armed, and carries the book in the left hand and the lotus in the right. The accompanying illustration ( Plate XL,d) shows how she is pictured by Nepalese artists. She may, however, be accompanied by the four attendants, Prajñā and others. As the Sādhana is silent about the Āsana, she may have any attitude. The Nālanda image ( Plate XL,e), which has been identified as that of Koṭīśrī (?) is probably a stone representation of this goddess. Vajrasāradā here sits in Bhadrāsana and her companions also have the same attitude. All the figures in the group are mutilated, but at least one among them carries the Utpala and the book, in the right and left hands.

(iv) Āryasarasvatī.

Symbol.—*left* Prajñāpāramitā on lotus.

Āryasarasvatī is another variation of Sarasvatī and is also designated as Vajrasarasvatī, which seems to be the common name of Sarasvatī of the Vajrayānists. She appears as a girl of sixteen years, is in the fulness of youth, has white complexion, and carries in the left hand the stalk of a lotus on which rests the Prajñāpāramitā Book. The Dhyāna is silent about the symbol carried in the right hand which may or may not remain empty. The Āsana is not mentioned also, which fact shows that she may be represented in any attitude. In the drawing illustrated, ( Plate XLI,a) she holds the stem of a lotus in the right hand.

(v) Vajrasarasvatī.

Faces—three.

Arms—six.

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

The name Vajrasarasvatī is given to this goddess in order to distinguish her from the other four varieties of Sarasvatī, with four different names given in the Sādhanas. It has already been said that Sarasvatī has a form with three faces and six arms. In all other respects her form is identical with Mahāsarasvatī. The difference here is that her hair is brown and rises upwards, and she stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude on the red lotus. Three Sādhanas in the Sādhanamālā are assigned to her worship, and according to these, she has the red colour, with the right and left faces of blue and white colour respectively. She carries in her three right hands the lotus on which is the Prajñāpāramitā book, the sword and the Kartri, and in the three left the Kapāla of Brahmā, the jewel and the Cakra. Instead of the book on lotus and Brahmakapāla, she may hold the locus and the Kapāla. The illustration ( Plate XLI,b) belongs to the latter variety.

## 2. APARĀJITĀ.

Identification mark—trampling upon Gaṇeśa.

Symbols—Tarjanipāśa and Capeṭādāna-Mudrā.

The name of Aparājītā occurs in the Dhyāna for the Aṣṭabhujā Kurukullā already quoted and translated.\* There she is said to bear the image of Ratnasambhava on the crown, and to carry in her four hands the staff and the goad, and the bell and the noose. The reason why this Aparājītā has not been dealt along with the other emanations of Ratnasambhava will be amply borne out by the description that follows. It will be noticed that except the colour, the two Aparājītās have nothing in common.

Aparājītā is a very interesting Buddhist goddess. She tramples upon Gaṇeśa and one of her hands is raised in the attitude of dealing a slap and her parasol, according to the Sādhana, is held by important Hindu gods. A very short Sādhana is devoted to her worship and the Dhyāna contained in the Sādhana describes the form of Aparājītā in the following terms :—

“Aparājītā pītā dvibhujaikamukhī nānāratnopaśobhitā Gaṇapatisamākrāntā capeṭadānābhinayadakṣiṇakarā gṛhītapāsatarjanīkaḥṛdayasthitavāmbhujā atibhayaṅkarakarālaraudramukhī aśeṣamāranirdalanī(aṃ) Brahmādi-duṣṭaraudradevatāparikarocchritacchatrā ceti.”

Sādhanamālā. A—216, Na—18, C—172.

“Aparājītā is yellow in complexion, two-armed, one-faced, is decked in various gems, and tramples upon Gaṇeśa. Her right hand is raised in displaying the attitude of dealing a slap, while the left carries the Tarjanipāśa against the breast; her face appears awful, terrible and ferocious; she is the destroyer of all Māras, and her parasol is raised over her head by the host of wicked and ferocious gods, Brahmā and others.”

In the Sādhana it may be noticed there is a word Gaṇapatisamākrāntā, which means “who tramples upon Gaṇapati.” The word ‘ākrānte, comes from the original root ‘kram’ to trample.\* In the Sādhanamālā again, the root *kram* is invariably used in the sense of trampling and not in its ordinary sense of attacking. On the strength of this argument the Nālanda fragment (illustrated in Plate XLI, d) was identified with Aparājītā. In it, the

\* Supra, Chapter IV, p. 58.

† Cf.—Kramū pādavikṣepe.

figure to the right of the principal goddess seems to be Indra, and the rod held by him seems to be the handle of the parasol required to be held by the gods beginning with Brahmā.\* The upper part of the Nālanda image is unfortunately lost. If it were not so, we could reasonably have expected the Capetādāna Mudrā in the right hand of the goddess and the Tarjanīpāśa in the left, and a parasol above her head in continuation of the broken handle. This identification was later on confirmed when a traditional drawing (Plate XLI,c) of Aparājītā was secured from the native Citrakāras of Nepal. Subsequently, at the Indian Museum, we came across an image (Plate XLII,a) slightly mutilated, but complete, which resembled the Nālanda fragment in the lower portion while the whole image exactly followed the directions given in the Sādhana quoted above. This new discovery, however, left no room for doubting the identification.†

### 3. VAJRAGĀNDHĀRĪ.

Faces—six.

Arms—twelve.

Colour—blue.

Āsana—Pratyālīḍha.

The name of Vajragāndhārī has already been mentioned in connection with the Maṇḍala of the eight-armed Kurukullā.‡ There Vajragāndhārī is said to bear the image of Amoghasiddhi on her tiara. As the two forms of Vajragāndhārī vary widely, she could not be dealt with under the emanations of Amoghasiddhi. She is one of the terrible feminine deities without any crest of a Dhyānī Buddha, is endowed with six faces and twelve arms. A short Sādhana in the Sādhanamālā describes her form as follows :—

“Vajragāndhārī kṛṣṇā ṣaṇmukhī dvādaśabhujā ūrdhvapiṅgalakeśī pratyālīḍhapadā daṇṭṭrākārālavadanā, pratimukhaṃ trinetṛā, dakṣiṇaṣaḍbhujesu yathākramaṃ vajra-vajraghaṇṭā-khaḍga-triśūla-bāṇa-cakrāṇi ; vāma-ṣaḍbhujesu khaṭvāṅga-aṅkuśa-dhanuḥ-paraśu-pāśa-hṛttarjanyah ; prathamamukhaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ, aparāṇi mukhāni pañcavarṇāni viśvapadmasūryyāsanā ceti.”

Sādhanamālā. A—216, Na—18—19, C—172.

\* The gods commencing from Brahmā are four in number, to wit: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra, often designated by the Tāntric Buddhists as the four Māras or Evil Ones. Brahmā has four faces and both Śiva and Viṣṇu have four arms each. As this figure, attendant on Aparājītā, is endowed with two hands only, I propose to identify it with Indra. The identification is further strengthened by the fact that in some Buddha images, it is Indra who holds the parasol above the Lord's head.

† The image had long been hidden from public gaze, as it was kept in an obscure corner on the left side of the marble staircase leading from the Galleries to the office of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum. The staircase, I may add, is inaccessible to the public.

‡ Supra, Chapter IV, p. 58.

Vajragāndhārī is blue, six faced, twelve-armed, with brown hair rising upwards, stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude and has faces terrible with bare fangs and three eyes; she carries in her six right hands, the Vajra, the Vajraghaṇṭā the sword, the Trisūla and the Cakra, and in the six left hands the Khaṭvāṅga, the goad, the bow, the Paraśu, the noose with the Tarjanī against the breast; her first face is blue, and other five faces are of five different colours; she rests on the sun supported by the double lotus."

The Dhāraṇī quoted in the Sādhana-mālā gives her the epithets of Yoginī and Bhīṣma-bhaginī, and she is believed to be the consort of the Yakṣa general, Caṇḍava-jrapāṇi by name.

#### 4. VAJRAYOGINĪ

(i) She is another of the important and popular goddesses, who do not seem to bear the image of any of the Dhyānī Buddhas on the crown. Four Sādhana's describe her form, which consists of two entirely different types. In one case, she has no head on the neck, but carries it in her hand, and in another, she has her head intact.\* In the former she is identical in appearance with the Hindu goddess Cchinna-mastā belonging to the group of the ten Mahāvidyās. Our conclusion therefore is that this Buddhist goddess has been borrowed and incorporated wholly by the Hindus into their Pantheon.† She is always accompanied by the two Yoginīs on either side of her, who are called Vajravairocanī and Vajra-varṇanī. The Sādhana describing her form without head is as follows :—

"Bhaṭṭārikām Vajrayoginīm...pīta-varṇāṃ śvayameva svakartrikartita-svamaṣṭaka-vāma-hastasthitāṃ dakṣiṇa-hastakartrisahitāṃ, ūrdhva-vistṛta-vāma-bāhūṃ, adhona-mitadakṣiṇa-bāhūṃ, vāsaśūnvām, prasāritadakṣiṇapādāṃ saṅkucita-vāmapādāṃ, bhāvayet. Kavandhānnisṛtyāśṛkdhārāśca mukhe praviśati, apare ubhayoḥ pārśvayoginyoḥ mukhe praviśati iti bhāvayet.

Vāmadakṣiṇapārśvayogī śyāma-Vajra-varṇanī-pīta-varṇa-Vajravairocana-yau vāmadakṣiṇa-hastakartrisahite, dakṣiṇa-vāma-hastakarpparasahite, prasārita-vāmapādaprasāritadakṣiṇapāde muktakeśyau bhāvayet. Ubhayoḥ pārśvayogī, ubhayoḥ yoginyoḥ madhye antarīkṣe atibhaya-kulam śmaśānam bhāvayet."

Sādhana-mālā. A—245, Na—76, C—198.

\* The headless form is designated in the Mantra as Sarva-buddha-ākīṇī, while the other form is called in the Mantra as Vajrayoginī.

† The most powerful argument in favour of this conclusion is that the Hindus retained the same Buddhist Mantra, though they changed the name of the principal deity and all Buddhist flavour into Hindu. But owing to religious fear they did not venture to change the Mantra.

The worshipper should conceive himself as Bhaṭṭārikā Vajrayoginī . . . of yellow complexion, who carries in her left hand her own head severed by herself with her own Kartri held in her right hand ; whose left hand is raised upwards while the right is placed below ; who is nude, and whose right leg is stretched while the left is bent down. He, (the worshipper), should also meditate on the streams of blood issuing out from the severed body as falling into her mouth and into the mouths of the two Yoginīs on either side of her.

He (worshipper) should also conceive the two Yoginīs to the left and right [ of the principal goddess], the green Vajravārāṇī, and the yellow Vajravairocanī, both of whom carry the Kartri in the left and right hands respectively, and the cup of skull in the right and left hands respectively ; whose left and the right legs respectively are stretched forward and who have dishevelled hair. On all sides between the two Yoginīs and in the firmament are stretched the awful cremation ground."

(ii). The other form is also as terrible as the one described above, and she is surrounded on all sides by the terrible burning grounds. She stands in the Ālīḍha attitude on the sun, is in the fulness of youth, and has red complexion. She rides the corpse, is nude, has three eyes, red and round, contorted brows, protruding belly and tongue, and possesses the six auspicious symbols. She carries the Kapāla in the left hand and the Vajra in the right, while the Khaṭvāṅga hangs from her left shoulder. This form of Vajrayoginī is similar in many respects to the forms of both Nairātmā and Vajravarāhī so much so, that a confusion is likely to occur in the identification of their images. If an image shows the dancing attitude in Ardhaparyāṅka, it may be identified as Nairātmā or Vajravarāhī, but if it shows the Ālīḍha attitude, it must be identified as Vajrayoginī. The excrescence near the right ear and the corpse lying on its breast is peculiar only to Vajravarāhī ; while the absence of the excrescence, and the presence of the corpse lying on its back point to the identification of Nairātmā. The Ālīḍha attitude is peculiar only to Vajrayoginī.

She may have a yellow form, and according to the Sādhana, she will carry the Kartri and the Kapāla, and in other respects she will be identical with the one just described. Another Sādhana adds the information that the Kapāla should be filled with the blood of the Devas (gods) and the Asuras (demons), and that the hand carrying the Kartri may show the Tarjanī also.

Vajrayoginī is one of the consorts of Heruka, who remains with her in the yab-yum, and their union is the subject of the celebrated Heruka Tantra. The temple of Vajrayoginī at Sāṅku (Plate XLII,b)

in Nepal does not contain an image of any of these varieties of Vajrayoginī. It contains, within it, the image of Ugratārā or more popularly known as the Mahācīna-Tārā, which is believed to have been carried over there by Bengali priests from a place of the same name in the District of Dacca, about A.D. 1850, when the Muhammadans carried their victorious arms over Eastern Bengal.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the Sāadhanamālā we do not find any Sādhana for the goddesses that are mentioned below. Paṇḍit Amṛtānanda's Dharmakoṣasaṅgraha, which embodies later developments than those recorded in the Sāadhanamālā gives us descriptions of some of these deities. We give below descriptions only of those that are generally represented in art. The pictures reproduced, were photographed from an illuminated manuscript of Pañcarakṣā, which is now in the possession of an American Anthropologist, Dr. W. Y. Evans Wentz. The Ms. and therefore the miniatures, may be taken to be four hundred years old on Palaeographical evidence.

#### 5. GRAHAMĀTRKĀ.

Faces—three.

Arms six.

Mudrā—Dharmacakra.

Āsana—Vajraparyāṅka.

She has been described in the Dharmakoṣasaṅgraha in the following terms :—

“Grahāmātrkā trimukhaśvetapītaraktā śaḍbhujā dakṣe dharmacakra-mudrā-vajra-śara ; vāme kamalacāpa ; sahasradalapadme vajrāsana.”

Dharmakoṣasaṅgraha, Fol. 44A.

“Grahāmātrkā has three-faces of white, yellow and red colours, and six-arms, displaying the Dharmacakra-Mudrā (in the principal pair of hands) and carrying the Vajra and the arrow in the two right hands and in the two left the lotus and the bow. She sits in Vajrāsana on a lotus of thousand petals.” ( Plate XLII,c).

#### 6. GAṆAPATIHṚDAYĀ.

Āsana—dancing.

Arms—two.

Mudrās—Abhaya and Varada.

Like Gaṇapati himself Gaṇapatihṛdayā, who, in all probability, is his Śakti, does not bear any image of a Dhyānī Buddha. She is described in the work as :—



“ Gaṇapatihṛdayā ekamukhā dvibhujā varadā abhayā nṛtyāsana.”

Dharmakoṣasaṅgraha, Fol. 48.

“ Gaṇapatihṛdayā is one-faced, two-armed, exhibits the Varada and the Abhaya poses, and a dancing attitude.”

The miniature, ( Plate XLII,d) however, does not tally with the above description. In this miniature she has sixteen arms and one face. The symbols, beings indistinct, cannot be recognised in all details.

#### 7. VAJRVIDĀRAṆĪ.

Vajravidāraṇī has been described in the above-named work as follows :—

“ Vajravidāraṇī, pañcamukhī, daśabhujā ; dakṣe aṅkuṣa-khaḍga-śara-vajravaraḍā ; vāme pāśa-carma-dhanu-dhvaja-abhayā pratyālīḍhāsana.”

Dharmakoṣasaṅgraha, Fol. 44A.

“ Vajravidāraṇī is five-faced, ten-armed, carries in the right hands the goad, the sword, the arrow, the Vajra, and the Varada Mudrā, and in the left, the noose, the armour, the bow, the flag and the Abhaya pose ; she stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude.” ( Plate XLII,c.)

## CONCLUSION.

There is no evidence to show that the Sādhana existed before the time of Indrabhūti (*Cir.* 700-750 A. C.) who, with the materials now before us, may be regarded as the founder of the Vajrayāna System. But when the Sādhana-mālās were compiled, in about the middle of the 12th Century, we find no less than 300 Sādhana recorded in them. It cannot be denied that after Indrabhūti, during these four hundred years, this System underwent a rapid development, which is due mostly to time, and space, as well as to the temperament and idiosyncracies of the followers of that System.

The Sādhana of the Sādhana-mālā were composed by men distinguished in the Mediaeval ages as great Tāntric scholars, and we have been able to find out thirty-three names of such authors. The Dhyānas contained in the Sādhana laid down the essential features of different gods, and the sculptors prepared images with the help of those general directions. The Dhyānas left much scope for the exercise of imagination on the part of the sculptors and the products of their chisels were also very greatly influenced by the spirit of the age in which they flourished, as well as by the geographical situation of the area in which they worked. Ornaments, dress and even the expressions of the face in the images reflected local colouring to a great extent, over which particular Tāntric rites in which the images were used, had also a modifying influence.

We have seen that the most important factor in the identification of images is the miniature figure of the Dhyāni Buddha on their crown. In rare instances, however, the Dhyāni Buddhas are absent. In such cases, we have to look out for other marks of identification. Even when the Dhyāni Buddhas are present, there may arise difficulties. Sometimes all the five Dhyāni Buddhas are carved on the aureole. In cases like these, the principal figure may be an emanation of the five Dhyāni Buddhas as in the case of the Birbhum figure of Mañjuvara, or, it may be, that the principal figure is the emanation of that particular Dhyāni Buddha, who appears right above its head, such as, we find in the cases of the Indian Museum standing figure of Khadiravānī Tārā or the Vikrampur figures of Parnaśavarī. They are both emanations of Amoghasiddhi, whose effigy appears right above the heads of the goddesses. The figures of all other Dhyāni Buddhas are not required either by the Sādhana or for identification. Their presence can only be explained by a reference to the Sādhana, prescribing the worship of all the Buddhas before the commencement of the offering of oblations, or of the worshipper conceiv-

ing himself as the principal deity, to whom the Sādhana is devoted. Sometimes again, the Dhyānī Buddhas appear on the image only to serve artistic purposes : for instance, in the case of the Dacca Muséum image of Arapacana Mañjuśrī, who is regarded as independent in the Sādhanamālā. Four companions, identical in appearance with himself, appear round his image. The Java figure of Arapacana is of this kind. But in the Dacca Museum image we find four Dhyānī Buddhas while the central position above the head is occupied by one of the companions of Arapacana. The Dhyānī Buddhas are not required by the Sādhana and are, therefore, more ornamental than otherwise.

But the most serious difficulty arises when instead of the Dhyānī Buddha mentioned in the Sādhana some other Buddha appears on the crown of any figure, contrary to the prescription of the Sādhanas. For instance, in the Sarnath image of Ucchuṣma Jambhala we could reasonably have expected according to the Dhyānas, the figures either of Akṣobhya or of Ratnasambhava on its crown. But we find instead the effigy of Amitābha on the crown of Ucchuṣma Jambhala. Again, take for instance, the Lucknow Museum figure of Māricī, who ought to have shown, in agreement with the Sādhana, the figure of Vairocana on her crown ; but we find instead that of Amitābha. Again, we notice over the head of the Indian Museum image of Uṣṇīṣavijayā, the figure of the parental Buddha Akṣobhya, instead of her own sire Vairocana. We leave out of discussion the image of Cundā who bears two miniature images of Amitābha on her crown instead of the parental Buddha Vajrasattva,—because the figure does not tally with the Sādhana in important details.

It is difficult to surmise the true reason for these discrepancies. The most reasonable suggestion seems to be that we have still to discover many texts, and that the Sādhanamālā is not the only collection of the Sādhanas. It is difficult to believe, however, that a new Sādhana for either Māricī or Uṣṇīṣavijayā will be forthcoming. In the Sādhanamālā itself a large number of Sādhanas are devoted to their worship, but nowhere do we find mention of any parental Buddha other than Vairocana. When we consider that there are existent nine or ten different recensions of the Sādhanamālā or Sādhana-samuccaya, the hope of discovering further Sādhanas prescribing other parental Buddhas than Vairocana, seems to be far distant.

The second alternative presupposes the existence of different cults according as one or the other of the Dhyānī Buddhas are believed to be the principal or the Ādi-Buddha. The Buddhists of Nepal, even now are divided into so many different cults,—some regard Vairocana as the Ādi-Buddha,

others regard Akṣobhya or Amitābha as the Ādi-Buddha.\* But we have not yet been able to find out a single instance where Amoghasiddhi or Ratnasambhava are believed to be the Ādi Buddha. Now, though the Sādhana prescribe the figure of the parental Buddha Vairocana for Mārīcī, yet the followers of the Amitābha cult are at liberty to make her emanate from the same Buddha, whom they consider as the Ādi Buddha. Similarly Ucchuṣma Jambhala, being regarded as the offspring of Amitābha, is made to bear an image of that Dhyānī Buddha on the crown of the Sarnath figure already referred to. It is unnecessary to multiply instances.

In identifying Buddhist images, the student of Iconography should guard himself against taking unnecessary figures in the image as principal ones, or a necessary one as unnecessary. A full-fledged Buddhist icon shows in the first place, the principal god, an effigy of his sire on the crown, and the Dhyānī Buddhas on the aureole. The icon may show further miniature figures of the companions of the principal god, some worshippers, mythical figures, and the three, seven or sixteen jewels. The figure of Vajrasattva seems to be a favourite device with the artists. He appears on many Buddhist images, and is perhaps conceived as a sort of general guardian of Buddhism and Buddhist worship. For the purpose of identification the principal figure, the figure of the Dhyānī Buddha on the top and the companions are the necessary parts of the image. Examine, for instance, the Dacca Museum image of Arapacana in which besides the four companions there are present four Dhyānī Buddhas, Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha and Ratnasambhava, two mythical figures supporting the lotus seat, and two worshippers on the extreme left of the pedestal. All these figures are redundant for the purpose of identification, and their absence in the Java figure does not affect it. But if, for instance, the companions are confused with the worshippers, as has been done in the case of the Mahoba figure of Vajrāsana†, the identification must be regarded as incomplete. In it, the figures flanking the principal figure of Buddha in the Bhūmiṣparśa Mudrā are clearly Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara according to the Sādhana, but they have been described as worshippers. Thus the identification of the whole image has been vitiated.

\* The theory of Ādi-Buddha originated in the Nalanda monastery about the beginning of the 10th. century and was accepted first in Kālacakrayāna, a later form of Vajrayāna. See Csoma: *The Origin of the Theory of Ādi-Buddha*, in J.A.S.B. Vol. II (1833) p. 57 *et seq.* See also my paper on *Buddhist Iconography* in J. B. O. R. S., March, 1923.

† See K. N. Dikshit, *Six Sculptures from Mahoba*.

Another difficulty arises in identifying images where the letters of the Mantra of the god represented are deified and appear on the image. We have seen in the case of Vajratārā that she should be surrounded by ten goddesses, who are the ten Pāramitās and originate from the ten syllables of the Tārā Mantra, "Om Tāre-tuttāre-ture svāhā"; also, we have seen how from the five letters of the name Arapacana originated five deities including the principal one, Mañjuśrī. The Dacca Museum image of Kadiravanī Tārā is a particular instance of the deification of the Mantra. The main figure, in accordance with the Sādhana, carries the Utpala in the left hand and shows the Varada Mudrā in the right, and is flanked on either side by Aśokakāntā and Ekajaṭā. But on the aureole there are eight female figures identical in appearance with the principal figure. They represent none but the eight syllables of the Tārā Mantra "Om Tāretuttāreture," the two others, Uṣṇīṣavijayā and Sumbhā being omitted.

Sometimes in the images of the Buddhist gods and goddesses we notice the presence of Gaṇeśa, who is regarded by the Hindus as "Siddhidātā" or the Bestower of Perfection or success in Tāntric rites. The Buddhists in order to display their aversion to the followers of the Brahmanical faith, made their gods trample upon Gaṇeśa. Thus in the Indian Museum images of Parṇaśavarī and Aparājitā, the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat image of Bighnāntaka, etc., the deities have been represented as trampling upon Gaṇeśa under their feet. In the two Vikrampur images of Parṇaśavarī and the Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat image of Mahāpratisarā,\* Gaṇeśa appears below the lotus seat lying prostrate on the ground, under the pressure of the Buddhist deities. The Buddhists thus showed their animosity against the Hindu god, Gaṇeśa, and gave him the epithet of *Bighna* or Obstacle. Their animosity may be further illustrated by the following features of the Sādhanas. The four Hindu gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra have been designated uniformly as the four Māras or Wicked Beings and several Buddhist gods have been described as trampling them under their feet. The Sādhanas of Prasanna-Tārā, Vajrajvālānālārka, Vidyujjvālākārālī, and the like, are instances in point. Trailokyavijaya has been represented as trampling upon the prostrate forms of Śiva and Gaurī. Nārāyaṇa has been made a Vāhana or vehicle by Hariharihari-

\*Unfortunately, the disadvantageous position of this image did not permit me to photograph the whole pedestal. The figure of Gaṇeśa has therefore been omitted in the photograph.

*vāhana*. Poor *Brahmā* has been more severely handled by the Buddhists. The severed head of *Brahmā* or the *Brahmakapāla* is carried by a number of Buddhist deities. According to the Hindu tradition, *Brahmā* should be very old, with grey beards and four heads, and the Buddhist deities mercilessly hold the heads by the matted hair and flourish them in their hands. This is how the Buddhists attempted to exhibit the superiority of their gods over those of the Brahmanical faith. It is a matter of satisfaction, however, that the Hindus never disgraced any gods belonging to the alien faith in this manner. On the contrary, they placed Buddha among the ten *Avatāras* of *Viṣṇu*.

A deep spiritual significance is attached to the colour, the weapons, and *Āsanas* of the Buddhist gods, who are represented either singly or in *yab-yum*. The conception of *yab-yum* images, however, is much more complicated than the single ones.

It has been stated in the *Sādhanamālā* that a single deity may take any colour according as he is worshipped in different *Tāntric* rites. For instance, in *Śāntikavidhi* or propitiatory rite the god will take the white or yellow colour, in *Pañṣṭikavidhi* or protective rite the yellow colour, in *Vaśyavidhi* or bewitching and *Ākarṣaṇa* or the rite of forcible attraction the yellow, green or red colour, and in *Ucāṭana* (destruction of dwelling houses) and *Māraṇa* (destruction of enemies), the god will be generally blue. It may be pointed out here that the word '*Kṛṣṇa*' in the *Sādhanamālā* always signifies blue colour and not black. Except in very exceptional circumstance, we meet with black colour in paintings of gods, but always the blue colour. It was not because the Buddhists had no perception of black, but it seems that there was some religious prejudice against using the black colour in paintings of gods. It may be pointed out here that whenever the deity gets the blue colour his appearance becomes terrible with protruding teeth, tongue and belly, garland of heads, ornaments of serpents or bones, and the garment of tiger-skin.

The *Āsanas* have likewise a spiritual significance. The *Vajraparyāṅka* attitude signifies meditation, the *Ardhaparyāṅka* and *Lalitāsana* signify serenity, the *Ālīḍha* heroism, the *Pratyālīḍha* destruction and loathsomeness, and the dancing attitude in *Ardhaparyāṅka* signifies wrath and horror.

A reference here is necessary to the *yab-yum* representations. The Tibetan *yab* means the honourable father, and *yum* the honourable mother. Therefore the word *yab-yum* means the honourable father in the company of the honourable mother. A *yab-yum* image has a deep spiritual

significance. It signifies that the god, the embodiment of Śūnya represents perfection having attained Śūnya ( Karuṇā ) and therefore the highest stage of Nirvāṇa.

The conception of Śūnya in Vajrayāna took the concrete shapes of a god and a goddess. Śūnya took the shape of Heruka when a male divinity, and became otherwise known as Nairātmā when a goddess. That Śūnya took the form of a deity does not seem strange in Vajrayāna where we find conceptions, such as Saṅgha, Dharma, Prajñāpāramitā, the ten Parāmitās, and the Skandhas, —deified in the Buddhist Pantheon. The conception of Śūnya in the form of a god or a goddess is therefore quite in keeping with the traditions of the Vajrayāna System. When the Bodhi Mind attains Nirvāṇa it merges in Śūnya and there remains in eternal bliss and happiness. And when Śūnya was made a goddess, it was easily understood, as to how eternal bliss and happiness was possible after the attainment of Nirvāṇa. The yab-yum figures, representing Śūnya in the form of Heruka in the embrace of Śūnya in the form of Nairātmā,\* were held up before the mass as ideals, and they readily attracted them and helped them in their conception of a bright and definite spiritual prospect.†

Buddhists of the Vajrayāna considered Śūnya as the Ultimate Reality, and they believed that the host of gods and goddesses including the Dhyāni Buddhas are Śūnya in essence, ‡ that is, are gods about whom neither existence, nor non-existence, nor a combination of the two, nor a negation of the two may be predicated. The innumerable gods and goddesses of the Vajrayāna Pantheon thus, are all manifestations of the Śūnya. The gods have no real existence, the images have no real existence, and therefore, we may

\* The Nairātmā is also known by the names of Prajñā Śakti, Svābhā Prajñā, Vidyā, Svābhā-Vidyā and the like. But Nairātmā and Heruka both have their stereotyped forms described before.

† The perfected Bodhicitta in the embrace of Śūnya or Nairātmā as represented in yub-yum figures is likened by Saraha as salt and water. As salt cannot be taken out from water, so the two yub-yum figures are eternally united into one. This is what the Buddhists call "Advaya" where all conception of a duality ceases. This is Heruka represented as single.

‡ The whole of the Buddhist Tāntric literature is full with ideas of this kind; for instance, in Advayavajra we find—"The divinities are manifestations which are naturally non-existent. Whenever there is manifestation, it must be Śūnya in essence."—

"Sputiśca devatākarāḥ niḥsvabhāvo svabhāvataḥ |

Yadā yadā bhavet sphurtiḥ sā tathā śūnyatātmakā || "

Mahāsukhāprakāśa in Advayavajrasaṅgraha. Fol, 33.

be positive in saying, that a true Vajrayānist never worshipped any image or god. Because, the images, the paintings, or even the divinities themselves have no real existence. They are the different manifestations of the Śūnya. But that the images had some utility can never be denied. The form presented in images in accordance with the Dhyānas, no doubt, facilitated the conception of the deities, who were to be identified with the worshipper himself. As they had no real existence, the deities had to be drawn from unknown regions in the firmament by the luminous rays of light issuing out from the Vijamantras uttered by the worshiper. The Śūnya transforms itself in the form of a divinity in accordance with the germ-syllable uttered, and exists only as a positive idea in the mind of the worshipper who identifies himself with that transformation of Śūnya.

The question may be raised as to the necessity of a variety of gods and goddesses, when one Śūnya would have been sufficient. In answer to this we have to consider a number of things. First, that Śūnya which was identified with Compassion by the Vajrayānists, was conceived as manifesting itself in different forms in accordance with the different functions discharged. For instance, if any disease is to be cured, Śūnya takes the form of Simhānāda; when it is the question of snake-bite, Śūnya becomes Jāṅgūlī; when destruction of the wicked is needed the Śūnya takes the form of Mahākāla. When again, diseases and pestilences are to be prevented, Śūnya is conceived in the form of Parṇasavarī, for success in love-affairs, Śūnya is invoked in the form of Kurukullā, and when forcible submission is required in love-affairs, Śūnya becomes Vajrānaṅga. When finally Buddhahood is wanted by the worshipper he should conceive himself as Heruka. From the above it appears that the conception of the multitude of Buddhist deities emerges from the one grand conception of Śūnya according as it is believed to discharge different functions as a mark of compassion towards the Buddhists.

Secondly, the number of deities increases according as Śūnya is taken to depict the different "Rasas" or sentiments, numbering nine. For instance, Śūnya will be Khadiravanī or Lokanātha when benign (Karūṇā); it will be Mārīcī when heroic (Vīra); Bighnāntaka, Heruka or Mahākāla when awe-inspiring (Bhaya) Aparājītā when wrathful (Raudra); Vajracarcikā in disgust and loathsomeness (Bibhatsa) and Prajñāpāramitā when peaceful (Śānta), and so on.

Thirdly, the number of deities increases also in accordance with the three Kāyas, the four Ānandas, the five Skandhas, the ten Pāramitās, and so on.



As all these deities centre round the one grand conception of *Śūnya* the different weapons held by them also centre round the one grand conception of *Bodhicitta*\*, which is also of the essence of *Śūnya*. As these weapons are required to discharge different functions, the *Bodhicitta* manifests itself into so many different forms. For instance, when the darkness of ignorance is to be dispelled, *Bodhicitta* becomes the sword, which spreading its rays destroys darkness ; when destruction is needed of the host of wicked beings it manifests itself also in the form of a sword, which cuts them through. *Bodhicitta* becomes *Aṅkuśa* when the heart of the wicked is to be wrung with pain. It is conceived as the noose when the *Māras* are to be bound securedly ; it becomes the needle and the string when the eyes and the mouths of wicked are to be sewn up. *Bodhicitta* will be the *Kartri* when chopping, a *Bhīṇḍipāla* when the *Māras* are to be destroyed from a distance, the bow and the arrow when the distance is much greater, and so on.

The *Mudrās* also are nothing but the manifestations of the *Bodhicitta*. If protection is needed, *Bodhicitta* is conceived as the *Abhaya Mudrā* ; when it is the question of boon, it becomes *Varada* ; when instruction in Buddhist Law is required, it becomes *Dharmacakra*, and so on.

The *Bodhicitta* or the Mind determined upon obtaining the *Bodhi* is that state of Mind which has already acquired the potentiality of dissolving itself in *Śūnya*. As a matter of fact, without *Bodhicitta* *Śūnya* or *Nirvāṇa* cannot be obtained. Like the *Śūnya*, *Bodhicitta* exists in the mind only and therefore has no real existence. It is the *Bodhicitta* which contributes to the attainment of *Śūnya*, and ultimately it is the *Bodhicitta* which merges itself in *Śūnya*.

The gods of the Buddhist Pantheon are conceived as carrying the *Bodhicitta* in their hands both being of the nature of *Śūnya*. It is with the help of this *Bodhicitta* that the god is supposed to confer *Buddhahood* or success in *Tāntric* rites upon the worshipper. The *yab-yum* conception of deities

\* Compare *Jñānasiddhi* by *Indrabhūti*—

*Bodhicittam bhavedvajram Prajñāt ghaṇṭā vidhīyate ।*

*Cakramajñānacchedāt Ratnantaḥ durlabhādapi ॥*

*Bhavadopasairalīptatvāt Jñānam tat padmamucyate ॥ etc. etc. etc.*

Fol. 61 (MS in the possession of M.M. H. P. Shastri).

is still more complicated. The god Heruka, the embodiment of Śūnya, carrying weapons, the embodiments of Bodhicitta also of the nature of Śūnya, is embraced by Nairātmā, whose essence is also Śūnya, carrying weapons also of the nature of Śūnya. Thus Void with Void commingles. This is the highest state—the Anupādhiśeṣa-Nirvāṇa.

*Farewell Mighty Gods !*

Kṛto vaḥ sarvasattvārthaḥ  
siddhirdattā yathānugā ।  
Cacchadhvaṃ Buddhaviṣayaṃ  
punarāgamaṇāya Muḥ ॥

॥ शुभमस्तु सर्वजगतां ॥



## APPENDIX A.

### KIÑCIT-VISTARA-TĀRĀ-SĀDHANA.

#### *Text.*

Prathamam tāvat mantri mukha-  
caraṇādikaṃ prakṣāya pavitribhūya  
vijane mano'nukūle sugandhopalipte  
surabhikusumāvākīrṇe ca bhūpradeśe  
sukhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ svahrdaye pratha-  
masvaraparīṇatam śītāṃśumandalam  
vicintya tanmadhye kamanīyanīlanī-  
rajaṃ tatkiñjalke niṣkalaṅkaśaśāṅka-  
maṇḍalam tadupari pīta-Tāṅkāravi-  
jaṃ paśyet tato'pi pīta-Tāṅkāravijāt  
niḥśṛtya jaganmohāndhakārāpahāri-  
bhiḥ mayūkhasanūhaiḥ daśasu dikṣu  
ye ca aparyantā lokadhātavo vidyante  
tān sarvān avabhāsyā tatrasthān  
api asaṅkhyeyān aprameyān Buddha-  
Bodhisattvāṃśeśa ākāśadeśe api āriya  
avasthāpyante. Tadanu teṣāṃ āk-  
āśadeśāvasthitānāṃ mahākāruṇikā-  
nāṃ Buddha-Bodhisattvānāṃ divya-  
puṣpa-dhūpa-gandha-mālya-vilepana-  
cūrṇacivaracchatradhvajaghaṇṭāpatā  
kāḍibhir-mahatīm pūjāṃ kṛtvā pāpa-  
deśanāṃ kuryyāt.

Yatkiñcit anādisaṃsāre saṃsaratā  
mayā pāpakaṃ karma kāyena vā  
manasā api kṛtam kāritam kriyamā-  
ṇam anumoditam vā tatsarvaṃ prati-

#### *Translation.*

The worshipper after leaving the  
bed in the morning, should wash his  
face and feet, and purifying himself  
go to a place which is lonely, is  
agreeable to him, is besmeared with  
scents, is strewn with fragrant flowers,  
and then sit in an easy pose. Then  
he should meditate on his heart the  
orb of the moon, which is originated  
from the first vowel "A" and notice  
a blue lotus which is beautiful; on  
the filaments of the lotus he should  
meditate on the orb of the spotless  
moon, on which is the yellow germ  
syllable "Tām." Then from the yellow  
germ "Tām" issue rays of light,  
which destroy the darkness of ig-  
norance of the world, and illumine  
the innumerable worlds that exist in  
the ten quarters, and bring from the  
the firmament innumerable and incon-  
ceivable Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.  
Then after an elaborate worship of  
these great compassionate Buddhas  
and Bodhisattvas [situated] in the  
firmament, by means of celestial  
flowers, incense, scents, garlands, un-  
guents, powders, mendicant dress, um-  
brellas, flags, bells, banners and the  
like, he should make a confession of  
sins in the following manner (by say-  
ing)—Whatever sinful deeds I have  
done, caused to be done or consented

deśayāmi ityanena vidhinā pratideśya  
punaḥ akaraṇasamvaram pratigṛhya  
puṇyānumodanām kuryyāt. Sugata-  
pratyekaśrāvaka-jinānām tatsutānām  
api Bodhisattvānām sadevasa-Brahma  
kalokānām yat kuśalam tat sarvaṃ  
anumodayāmi. Tadanu Ratna-  
trayaśaraṇagamaṇaṃ—

Buddhaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi

yāvadbodhimaṇḍataḥ ।

Dharmaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi

yāvadbodhimaṇḍataḥ ।

Samghaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi

yāvadbodhimaṇḍataḥ ॥

iti. Paścāt mārṅśrayaṇaṃ mārṅāḥ  
Tathāgatoktāḥ sa ca āśrayaṇīyaṃ  
mayā nānya iti. Tadanu adhyeṣaṇaṃ  
kuryyāt. Jagadarthaṃ āsaṃsāraṃ kur-  
vanto Bhagavantaḥ Tathāgataḥ tat-  
sutā api tiṣṭhantu mām pariṇirvāntu  
iti. Tadanu yācanā. Tādṛśiṃ niru-  
tarāṃ dharmadeśanām Bhagavantaḥ  
Tathāgataḥ deśayantu yayā jhātityeva  
saṃsāriṇaḥ sattvāḥ bhavabandhanāt  
nirmuktāḥ bhavanti iti. Tadananta-  
raṃ puṇyapariṇāmanām kuryyāt.  
Sapta-vidh-ānuttara-pūjā-pāpadeśanā  
kuśalamūlaṃ upajātaṃ tat sarvaṃ  
saṃyaksambodhaye pariṇāmayāmi  
iti. Athavā samāsataḥ saptavidhā-

to be done in this endless cycle of  
creation—everything I confess. Again,  
meditating on the restraint of wrong  
deeds he should give his assent to  
meritorious deeds (of others) with the  
words—I assent to the virtues of the  
Sugatas, Pratyekas, Śrāvakas, the  
Jinas and their sons the Bodhi-  
sattvas, and of the world with all the  
gods and Brahmā. After this refuge  
in the Three Jewels should be taken  
with the words—“I take refuge in  
Buddha so long as the Bodhi essence  
subsists; I take refuge in Dharma so  
long as the Bodhi essence subsists, and  
I take refuge in Saṅgha so long as  
the Bodhi essence subsists.” After  
this, adherence to the path (of the  
Tathāgata) should be done with the  
words—“By me should be followed the  
path indicated by the Tathāgata, and  
naught else. Then solicitation should  
be done with the words—“The gods  
the Tathāgatas and their children, who  
have created everything in this world,  
for the benefit of the world, be constant  
to me, and emancipate me.” Then  
begging should be done with the  
words,—“The gods, the Tathāgatas  
instruct me with such incontrovertible  
advices on Law, by which the beings  
of the world may be freed from the  
bonds of the world quickly. Then he  
should meditate on the results of his  
meritorious deeds with the following  
words—“Whatever merit I have ac-  
quired by the seven kinds of extra-  
ordinary worship like the confession of  
sins—all that I devote to gain, at the  
end, the final Sambodhi.”

uttarapujāsūcakam ślokaṃ enaṃ  
paṭhet.—

Sarvaṃ pāpaṃ ahaṃ diśāmi  
paramaṃ prītyānumode śubhān

Nājanmasthitaye'rthaye Bha-  
gavataḥ Saddharmaratnasya ca |

Ratnānaṃ trayamabhyupaimi  
śaraṇaṃ Bodhau dadhe mānaṣaṃ

Tanmārgaṇca samāśraye  
śubhavidhīn Sambodhaye nāmaye ||

Ityanena saptavidhānuttarapujāṃ  
vidhāya Oṃ Āh Muḥ iti visarjayet.

Athavā.—

Śīlacandanalīptānāṃ dhyāna-  
prāvaraṇāvṛtāḥ |

Bodhyaṅgakusumākīrṇāḥ  
viharaḍhvaṃ yathāśukhaṃ ||

ityanena. Tadanantaraṃ catur-  
Brahmavihāraṃ.—Maitrī-Karuṇā-  
Mudit-Opakṣāsaṃjñakaṃ vakṣyamā-  
ṇakrameṇa bhāvayet. Tatra keyaṃ  
Maitrī ?

Sarvasattveṣu ckaputraprematā  
lakṣaṇā. Athavā hitasukhopasaṃ-  
hārākarā iti. Karuṇā punaḥ kīdṛśī.  
Duḥkhāt duḥkhahectoḥ samuddhara-  
ṇakāmatā. Triduḥkhaduḥkhamahā-  
nalaprajñvalitasamśāralohabhavana-  
praviṣṭān jantūn tato'pi samuddhar-  
āmi iti adhyāsayo vā karuṇā. Athavā  
triduḥkhaduḥkhitānāṃ sattvānāṃ  
aṃśārāmbudheḥ samuddharaṇa-

Otherwise briefly he should recite  
the following śloka which indicate  
the seven kinds of extraordinary  
worship. "All sins I confess and gladly  
assent to the merits of others. For  
the reason of not remaining till the  
next birth, I take refuge in the Lord  
Buddha and the jewel of Good Law,  
or the Three Jewels and direct my  
thoughts to Bodhi. I follow His path  
and devote my merits for the attain-  
ment of Sambodhi." With this, the  
the seven kinds of extraordinary wor-  
ship should be performed and then  
the (gods) should be dismissed with  
the Mantra "Oṃ Āh Muḥ" or with  
the following śloka—Thou movest ac-  
cording to Thy will, being besmeared  
with the sandal of the Śīlas, and  
wearing the garments of Dhyāna, and  
strewn with the flowers of the limbs  
of the Bodhi.

Then he should meditate on the  
four Brahmas consisting of Friend-  
ship, Compassion, Joyousness and In-  
difference. What is meant by Friend-  
ship ? Its indication is the love that  
exists in all beings like the love to-  
wards the only son, or like its fruition  
in their welfare and happiness. Com-  
passion again is of what kind ? It is  
the desire to save from misery and  
from causes that lead to misery. The  
desire—I shall even save the people  
who are burnt with the great fire of  
suffering from the three evils and have  
entered the prison of Saṃsāra—is  
Compassion. Or it is the desire to  
save from the sea of Saṃsāra the  
beings suffering from the three evils.

ecchā. Muditā tu idṛśī. Pramodo Muditā. Athavā asadṛśe Buddhatve tadupāye ca sarvā eva saṃsāriṇaḥ sattvā mayā pratiṣṭhāpayitavyā ityadhyāśayo Muditā. Yadvā viśve-  
 śām yāni kuśalāni teṣu tadbhogai-  
 śvāryādiṣu ca ākrṣṭacittatā. Kā Upekṣā. Pratighānūnaya-nivandha-  
 naṃ apahāya hitāhiteṣu jantuṣu para-  
 mahitācaraṇaṃ Upekṣā. Yadvā sarvasmin premānuśayarahitapara-  
 hitadharmatāyāṃ svarasavāhinī pravṛttiḥ Upekṣā. Athavā lābhā-  
 lābha-yaśo'payaśo'nindāstuti-sukha-  
 duḥkhetvādyasṭalokadharmā-pramu-  
 kha-sakalāprastutavyāpāropekṣaṇaṃ Upekṣā. Catur-Brahmavihārabhā-  
 vanānantaraṃ sarvadharmaprakṛti-  
 pariśuddhatāṃ bhāvayet. Sarvā eva  
 dharmāḥ prakṛtyā svabhāvena pari-  
 śuddhāḥ ahamapi prakṛtipariśuddhā  
 ityādikam āmukhikuryyāt. Imāñca  
 sarvadharmā-prakṛti-pariśuddhatāṃ  
 anena mantrena adhiṣṭhet. Oṃ  
 Svabhāvasuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ  
 svabhāvasuddho'haṃ iti. Yadi pra-  
 kṛtipariśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ kutaḥ  
 tarhi saṃsāraṃ āvahati. Grāhya-  
 grāhakādimalāvṛtatvāt. Tadvigamo-  
 pāyaḥ sanmārgabhāvanā. Tayā sa  
 niruddhaṃ syāt. Ataḥ prakṛti-  
 pariśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ iti sid-

Muditā ( Joyousness ) is of the follo-  
 wing nature. Muditā is that desire  
 of all beings in this world for the  
 attainment of Buddhahood, which is  
 unlikely to them ; or it is the attrac-  
 tion (of the beings) towards the vir-  
 tues that exist in this world and to  
 their enjoyment and the spritual  
 powers arising out of them. What is  
 Upekṣā ( Indifference ) ? Upekṣā is the  
 doing of great welfare to all beings,  
 good or bad, by overcoming adverse  
 requestes and obstacles ; or, it is the  
 desire that comes of its own accord to  
 do good to all beings without the least  
 craving for their love ; or Upekṣā is  
 the indifference to the eight human  
 institutions of gain and loss, fame and  
 notoriety, blame or praise, pleasure  
 and pain, and all unusual activities  
 (deeds). After meditating on the four  
 Brahmas the natural purity of all  
 Phenomena should be meditated.  
 All Phenomena indeed, are by nature,  
 pure and therefore he the (worshipper)  
 should think himself pure by nature.  
 This natural purity of all Phenomena  
 should be established by the charm  
 "Oṃ svabhāvasuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ  
 svabhāvasuddho'haṃ. If all Pheno-  
 mena are naturally pure where then  
 is the possibility of the cycle of exis-  
 tence ? Because of its being covered  
 up with the impurity of the thought-  
 categories, such as the Subject and the  
 the Object. The way of purging off  
 (this impurity) is the meditation on  
 the good path. By that it is restrain-  
 ed. Therefore, is established the  
 essential purity of all Phenomena.

dham. Sarva-dharma-prkṛti-pari-  
śuddhatām vibhāvya sarvadharmā-  
śūnyatām vibhāvayet. Tatreyam  
śūnyatā. Grāhyagrāhakādi-sakala-  
kalpanā-prapañca-vañcitacitrādvaita-  
prakāśamātrātmyakam sacarācaram  
viśvam iti cintayet. Imām eva śūnya-  
tām anenāpi mantreṇa adhiṣṭhet.  
Om Śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmya-  
ako'ham iti.

Tadanu purvahr̥distham mṛgāṅka-  
maṇḍalamadhyavartilasannilotpala-  
kiñjalkābhyanantarasthitaniṣkalanka-  
niśānāthamaṇḍalopari sthitāt pīta-  
Tāṅkāravijāt Bhagavatīm Āryatār-  
ām....[ bhāvayet ].

Evam rūpam Bhagavatīm yāvat  
iocyati tāvat vibhāvayet. Tadananta-  
ram asyā eva Bhagavatyā hr̥dis-  
thahimāṃśumaṇḍalamadhyāvasthita-  
mañjunīlasarojakiñjalkāntargataka-  
lakṣavarjitakumudabādhava-  
maṇḍala-madhy-āvalīna-pīta-Tām'-  
kāravijavinirgatānekamaricimālābhiḥ  
trailokyāloka-kāriṇībhiḥ gatvā anā-  
disaṃsiddhā Bhagavati jñānasattva-  
rūpā api ākāśāt āniyate. Āniya tām  
ākāśādeśe api avasthāpya ratnabhā-  
janāvasthitasugandhitoyena surabhi-  
kusumena ca tasyā eva Bhagavatyāḥ  
caraṇārghyam dattvā divyapuṣpa-

After meditating on the purity of all  
Phenomenal existence the voidness of  
all Phenomena should be meditated  
upon. Here void means this. He  
should conceive the entire universe  
with its mobile and immobile crea-  
tions as the clear manifestation of non-  
duality when the mind is devoid of  
all the extensions of such thought  
categories as Subject and Object.  
This very voidness should be estab-  
lished by the charm "Om Śūnyatā-  
jñānavajrasvabhāvātmyako'ham."

Then, as previously stated, on the  
heart should be meditated the god-  
dess Āryatārā who originates from  
the yellow germ syllable, 'Tām' placed  
on the orb of the spotless moon,  
which again is inside the filament of  
a blooming blue lotus, which is within  
the orb of the moon with the deer on  
its lap.....

The goddess of this description  
should be conceived as long as desired.  
Then the eternally accomplished  
Bhagavati should be drawn out by  
spreading rays that illumine the three  
worlds—the rays which issue forth out  
of the yellow germ syllable 'Tām,'  
contained in the orb of the spotted  
moon, which is again within the fila-  
ment of a beautiful blue lotus. After  
thus discovering her, she should be  
placed on the firmament and should  
be worshipped with the offerings of  
scented water and fragrant flowers  
contained in the vessel inlaid with  
gems, at the feet of the Bhagavati;  
and should also be worshipped with



dhūpadīpanaivedyagandhamālyevilep-  
 anacūrṇacivaracchatradhvajaghaṇṭā-  
 patākādibhiḥ bahuvidhābhiḥ ca tāṃ  
 eva Bhagavatīm pūjayet. Punaḥ  
 punaḥ saṃpūjya stutvā ca mūdrāṃ  
 darśayet.....Anayā mudrayā tāṃ  
 eva Bhagavatīm jñānasattvarūpāṃ  
 santoṣya atraiva samayasattvarū-  
 pāyāṃ Bhagavatyaṃ mantraṃ bhāva-  
 yet iti anayor-advaitaṃ adhimuñcet.  
 Tadanu niśithinīnāthamaṇḍalama-  
 dhyāniviṣṭavakānīlāmbujakiñjal-  
 kāntarlinaniṣkalaṅkendumaṇḍalopari-  
 sthitapīta-Tāṃ-kāravijavinirgatāś-ca  
 aparyantāḥ ca Tārādevyāḥ daśadiglo-  
 kadhātūn samavabhāsyā tatsthitā-  
 nāṃ api sattvānāṃ nānāratnavarṣa-  
 ṇena dāridryādidiḥkhān apanayanti.  
 Kṣāṇikanairātmādidharmadeśanāmṛ-  
 tena tān santarpayanti. Punaḥ  
 nānāprakāraṃ jagadarthaṃ kṛtvā  
 viśvaṃ api Tārārūpaṃ niṣpādyā  
 tatrāpi pīta-Tāṃ-kāravije tasyāntar-  
 Bhagavati ityevamādisphuraṇasaṃ-  
 haraṇakrameṇa yāvat khedo na  
 jāyate tāvat bhāvayet. Bhāvanātaḥ  
 khinno mantraṃ japet. Tatrāyaṃ  
 mantraḥ Oṃ Tāre-tuttāre ture svāhā.  
 Mahāprabhāva evāyaṃ mantrarājaḥ.  
 Sarvairēva Tathāgatairvanditaḥ puji-  
 taḥ satkṛtāśceti. Dhyānāt vyutthito  
 yogī jagat-Tārārūpaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā Bhaga-  
 vatyahankāreṇa yatheṣṭaṃ viharet

various ceremonies, external and in-  
 ternal, by means of flowers, incense,  
 light-stick, food-offerings, scents, gar-  
 lands, unguents, powders, mendicant  
 dress, umbrella, flags, bell, banner, and  
 and the like. Thus repeatedly wor-  
 shipping and praising her, the Mudrā  
 should be exhibited.....With  
 this Mudrā after propitiating that very  
 goddess of the essence of knowledge  
 he should commingle her with the  
 goddess of the essence of time, and  
 by so doing, the non-duality of the two  
 is meditated. Then the rays that  
 issue out from the yellow germ sylla-  
 ble 'Tāṃ' which is on the spotless  
 moon (*lit.* the Lover of Night)—the  
 rays illuminating the worlds in the  
 ten quarters,—cause the removal of  
 the poverty and other miseries of the  
 beings that inhabit them, by showers  
 of various gems, and satisfy them by  
 the nectar of advice on realization of  
 temporary Śūnya (Nairātmā) or void-  
 ness. After doing good deeds for the  
 world he should meditate on the form  
 of Tārā which is identified with the  
 universe; again he should meditate  
 repeatedly, until tired, the yellow  
 germ syllable and the Bhagavati con-  
 tained therein. He, who is unable  
 to meditate should mutter the Mantra.  
 The Mantra in that case is "Oṃ Tāre-  
 tuttāre ture svāhā. This lord of all  
 Mantras has great power, and is  
 saluted, worshipped and revered by  
 all the Tathāgatas. Finishing the  
 Dhyāna he should think the world as  
 the form of Tārā and should move  
 about conceiving himself to be the

iti. Prāyaḥ amunā kramēṇa Bhagavatīm bhāvayato aṣṭamahāsiddhayaḥ carāṇayoḥ nipatanti. Kiṃ punaḥ anyāḥ siddhayaḥ. Api tu tāśca suta-rām eva. Yaśca vijanagiriguhāsinaḥ sa Bhagavatīm bhāvayet, sa khalu pratyakṣataḥ eva tām paśyati. Svayaṃ eva Bhagavatī tasyā śvāsa-praśvāsādikaṃ dadāti. Kimbahu vaktavyaṃ, paramadurllabhaṃ Buddhatvaṃ api karatalagataṃ tasya avatiṣṭhate.

Iti kiñcit-vistara-Tārā-sādhaṇaṃ samāptaṃ.

Kṛtīriyaṃ paṇḍita-sthavira-Anu-pamarakṣitānām.

Sādhana-mālā ? A—106-110,

N—75-79, C—82-86.

Bhagavatī.

Generally those who meditate on the Bhagavatī in this manner all the eight great perfections (Siddhi) fall at their feet. Not to speak of other smaller perfections, which come as a matter of course. Whosoever meditate upon the Bhagavatī in the lonely cave of the mountains, espies her with his own eyes ; the Bhagavatī herself gives him his breath. Not to say more, even the Buddhahood which is most difficult to attain, comes to him as if it is in the palm of his hand.

Here ends the somewhat long procedure for the worship of Tārā.

The author of this Sādhana is Anupama Rakṣita, the Sthavira.

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## APPENDIX B.

*Descriptions of one hundred and eight forms of Avalokiteśvara appearing in the Macchandar Vahal, Kathmandu, Nepal.*

( Plates XLIII—LXIX )

1. Hayagrīva Lokeśvara. The god sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. He has four hands, out of which the two principal ones exhibit the Vyākhyāna pose. The second pair holds the rosary in the right hand and the lotus in the left. He is accompanied by six other gods and a dragon.

2. Mojaghāñjavalā (?) Lokeśvara. He stands in the Samabhaṅga pose on a lotus with his two hands showing the Abhaya Mudrā in the right and the lasso in the left.

8. Hālāhala Lokeśvara. He sits in the Lalita attitude on a lotus with his Śakti on the lap. He has three faces and six arms. The face above represents probably the head of the Dhyānī Buddha, the effigy of whom he ought to bear on the crown. In his three right hands he shows the sword, the rosary and the Varada pose. In the three left hands he carries the lotus, the noose and the Utpala. The hand holding the noose passes round the Śakti in the act of embracing. The Śakti exhibits the Varada Mudrā in the right hand and the Abhaya in the left.\*

4. Hariharivarivāhana Lokeśvara. Lowermost is the snake, on it is the lion; over the lion is Garuḍa. Nārāyaṇa rides Garuḍa and on his shoulder sits Lokeśvara. The Garuḍa has two hands in the Añjali Mudrā. Nārāyaṇa has four hands, out of which the first pair is engaged in forming the Añjali against the breast while the second pair has the Cakra in the right hand and the Gadā in the left. Lokeśvara sits in Vajraparyāṅka, and has six arms; the three right hands show the rosary, the Cakra and the Varada pose while the three left carry the Tridaṇḍī, the noose and the Utpala.†

5. Māyājālākrama Lokeśvara. He has five faces and twelve arms. The head on the top probably represents Amitābha. He stands in the Āliḍha attitude, wears the tiger-skin and the garland of heads, but his faces do not present a fearful appearance. The six right hands carry the Tridaṇḍī, the

\* Described in the Sādhana-mālā.

† Also described in the Sādhana-mālā.

Khaṭvāṅga, the jewel, the Khaḍga, the Vajra and the rosary, and the six left the noose, the Kapāla, the Utpala, the fruit, the Cakra and the lotus.\*

6. Saḍakṣari Lokeśvara. He sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude. He has four arms and one face. The principal pair of hands are joined against the breast in forming the Añjali. The second pair carries the rosary in the right and the lotus in the left.†

7. Ānandādi Lokeśvara. He shows a standing attitude in the Samabhaṅga, carries the lotus, the stem of which he holds in his right hand while the left displays the Varada pose.

8. Vaśyādhikāra Lokeśvara. He sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude carries the bowl with his two hands arranged in Samādhi Mudrā.

9. Potapāda Lokeśvara. He sits also in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude and has four arms. The two principal hands exhibit the Añjali against the breast while the other pair holds the rosary in the right and the noose in the left.

10. Kamaṇḍalu Lokeśvara. He stands in the Samabhaṅga pose and is endowed with six arms. The two principal hands are engaged in drawing the bow to its full length. The other four hands carry the Vajra and the Cakra in the two right and the Ghaṇṭā and the Kamaṇḍalu in the two left.

11. Varadāyaka Lokeśvara. He is one-faced, six-armed and stands on a lotus. The two principal hands join against his breast in forming the Añjali. He shows also the rosary and the Varada pose in the two right hands and the book and a Mudrā (probably Karaṇa) in the two left.

12. Jaṭāmukuta Lokeśvara. He is four-armed and one-faced, the head on the top representing the head of Amitābha; The two right hands show the rosary and the Varada pose while the two left have the lotus and the water-pot. He is represented in a standing attitude.

13. Sukhāvati Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and six-armed and sits on lotus in the Lalita attitude. The first pair of hands exhibits the Dharma-cakra Mudrā, the second pair carries the rosary and the book and the third pair shows the Varada Mudrā in the right and the water-pot in the left.‡

14. Pretasantarpita Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and six-armed and stands on a lotus. In his three right hands he carries the rosary, the jewel

\* Described in the Sādhanaṁālā.

† Described in the Sādhanaṁālā.

‡ Described in the Dharmakośasaṅgraha of Amṛtānanda.

and shows the Varada Mudrā, while the three left carry the Tridaṇḍi and the book and exhibit the Varada Mudrā.\*

15. Māyājālakramakrodha Lokeśvara. He presents a very fierce appearance with five faces terrible with protruding teeth, and eyes rolling in anger. His hair rises upwards like flames of fire. He stands in the Pratyāliḍha attitude and wears the tiger-skin. He has twelve arms, out of which the six right carry the sword, the Vajra, the goad, the noose, the Trisūla, and the arrow. The six left have the shield, the Cakra, the Jewel, the deer-skin, the Kapāla and the Tarjanī with the noose.†

16. Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and six-armed and stands on a lotus. In his three right hands he carries the rosary and exhibits the Varada and Abhaya poses. The three left have the Tridaṇḍi, the Ut-pala and the water-pot.‡

17. Nilakaṇṭha Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed, and sits on a lotus in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude. He carries the bowl of gems in his two hands arranged in the Samādhi Mudrā.§

18. Lokanātha-raktāryyāvalokiteśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed and sits in the Lalita attitude on a lotus. The right hand displays the Varada Mudrā while the left holds the stem of a lotus on his lap.||

19. Trilokasandarśana Lokeśvara. He is also one-faced and two-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude. His right hand is raised against the breast with outstretched fingers and the palm inwards. The other hands exhibit exactly the same pose ( Karaṇa ? ) as displayed in one of the left hands by Varadāyaka Lokeśvara.

20. Siṃhanātha Lokeśvara. He is one faced and four-armed and sits in Bhadrāsana, or the European fashion, on a raised seat placed on the lotus. In his two right hands he carries the sword and the jewel while the two left hold the book and the noose.¶

\* Described on the obverse side of the first leaf of Abhiṣekavidhi, appended to the Nepal palm leaf Ms. of the Sādhnamālā.

† This form seems to have some affinity with the form described under No. 5. The Dhyāna in the Sādhnamālā probably gave rise to two distinct forms in later times.

‡ Also described in Abhiṣekavidhi.

§ Described in the Sādhnamālā.

|| Described in the Sādhnamālā as Lokanātha.

¶ This seems to be quite different from the Siṃhanāda described in the Sādhnamālā.

21. Khasarpapa Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed and sits in the Lalita attitude on a lotus. His right hand exhibits the Varada pose and the left is raised against the breast and holds the stem of a lotus.\*

22. Maṇipadma Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and four-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. His two principal hands are joined against his breast in forming the Añjali. The other pair holds the rosary in the right hand and the lotus in the left. He is identical in form with no. 6. described above.

23. Vajradharma Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. The right hand displays the Abhaya pose and the right on the lap holds the stem of the Utpala.†

24. Pupala Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and four-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. One of the two right hands carries the rosary while the other exhibits the Abhaya pose. One of the two left carries the book and the other displays a Mudrā with the index and little finger pointed forwards (Karaṇa ?).

25. Utnauti (?) Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and six-armed and sits in Bhadrāsana on the raised seat of a lotus. His three right hands hold the rosary and the Vajra and exhibit the Abhaya pose, while the three left carry the Kapāla, the noose and the water-pot.

26. Vṛṣṇācana Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and six-armed and sits in the Lalita attitude on a lotus. The three right hands show the Utpala, the arrow and the Varada pose while the three left show the book, the bow and the Abhaya pose.

27. Brahmadāṇḍa Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and four-armed, sits in the Lalita attitude on a lotus and is accompanied by his Śakti who sits on his lap. His two right hands show the Tridaṇḍi and the Varada pose, while the two left show the Ratnakalasa (vessel containing jewels) and a Mudrā with the index and little fingers pointed forwards. The Śakti displays the Varada pose in the right hand and the Abhaya in the left.

28. Acāta (?) Lokeśvara—He is one-faced and six-armed and sits in the Lalita attitude. The three right hands carry the sword and the arrow and display the Varada pose ; while the three left hold the Karti, the bow and display the Abhaya pose.

\* Described in the Sādhanaṁālā. Here the four companions have not been given.

† Described in the Sādhanaṁālā ; but the form presented in this figure does not agree with the one described in chapter III.

29. Mahāvajrasattva Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and eight-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. The four right hands exhibit the sword, the rosary, the Cakra and the Abhaya pose while the four left carry the noose, the Tridaṇḍī, the conch and the bowl of gems on the lap.

30. Viśvahana Lokeśvara—He is one-faced and six-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. The three right hands carry the sword, the arrow and the Cakra, while the three left carry the noose, the bow and display the Abhaya pose.

31. Śākyabuddha Lokeśvara—He is one-faced and four-armed and is represented in a standing attitude on a lotus. His two right hands carry the arrow and the Khaṭvāṅga, while the two left hold the bow and exhibit the Tarjanī.

32. Sāntāsi Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and six-armed and stands on a lotus. The two principal hands join against the breast in forming the Dharmacakra Mudrā. The other four hands show the rosary and the Varada pose in the right and the book and the Abhaya pose in the left.

33. Jamadaṇḍa Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and six-armed and sits in the Lalita attitude on a lotus. The three right hands carry the sword, the lotus and the Vajra while the three left carry the fruit, the bowl of gems and exhibit a Mudrā ( Karaṇa ? ).

34. Vajroṣṇīṣa Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and six-armed and is represented as standing on a lotus. His three right hands show the rosary, the Tridaṇḍī and the Abhaya pose, while the three left show the book, the noose and the Varada pose.

35. Vajrahuntika Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and twelve-armed and stands in Ardhaparyāṅka in a dancing attitude. He carries the Utpala in all his twelve hands.\*

36. Jñānadhātu Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and eight-armed and stands on a lotus. Two of his hands join in forming the Añjali against the breast ; the second pair exhibit what is called the Kṣepaṇa Mudrā. The remaining hands carry the rosary and the Tridaṇḍī in the right and the book and the noose in the left.

\* This form may be a later development of the conception of Padmanartteśvara, who is also sometimes represented as eighteen-armed, carrying the double lotus in all his hands.



37. Kāraṇḍavyūha Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. He carries the Vajra in the right hand and the book against his breast in the left.\*

38. Sarvaṇivaraṇaviṣkambhī Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. He carries the stem of a lotus on which appears the sword in the right hand and the Vajra against his breast in the left.

39. Sarvaśokatamonirghāta Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and four-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. The two principal hands exhibit the Abhaya poses against his breast and the other two hands carry the rosary in the right and the Utpala in the left.

40. Pratibhānakakūṭa Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed and sits in Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. He carries the noose against his breast in the right hand and holds the bowl of gems in the left.

41. Amṛtaprabha Lokeśvara. He is also one-faced and two-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. He carries the double Vajra on his lap in the right hand and the lotus on a water-vessel in the left.

42. Jālinīprabha Lokeśvara. He is also one-faced and two-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. He holds the sword on a lotus in the right hand and the stem of a lotus against his breast in the left.

43. Candraprabha Lokeśvara. He is also one-faced and two-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. He exhibits the Vitarka Mudrā in the right hand and carries the stem of a lotus against the breast in the left.

44. Avalokita Lokeśvara. He is also one-faced and two-armed and sits in the same attitude. He wields the sword in his right hand and holds the stem of a lotus against his breast in the left.

45. Vajragarbha Lokeśvara. He has got also the same number of hands and faces like no. 44. He carries the Vajra in the right hand and the stem of a lotus in the left.

46. Sāgaramati Lokeśvara. He is in all respects identical to No. 44 with the difference that he carries the double Vajra in his right hand.

\* This form ought to have been the same as the Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara, but it is not so.

47. Ratnapāṇi Lokeśvara. He is also identical with No. 44 in all other respects. The difference lies in the fact that he carries the sword in the left hand and displays the Varada Mudrā in the right.

48. Gaganagaṇja Lokeśvara. He is also identical to No. 44. in all other respects with the difference that he exhibits the Vitarka Mudrā in the right hand and the book in the left.

49. Ākāśagarbha Lokeśvara. He is also identical to No. 44 in all respects with the difference that here the god exhibits the Varada pose in the right hand and the stem of a lotus in the left.

50. Kṣitigarbha Lokeśvara. He is also identical to No. 44 except that here the god carries a tray of gems in the right hand and displays the Varada Mudrā in the left.

51. Akṣayamati Lokeśvara. He is also identical to No. 44 with the difference that this god carries the rosary in the right hand and holds the lotus on a water-vessel against his breast in the left.

52. Sṛṣṭikāntā Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed and stands on a lotus. He displays the Varada pose in the right hand while the empty left hand rests near his waist. A large number of four armed gods issue out from various points of his body while Amitābha appears over his head.

53. Sāmantabhadra Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed and sits in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude on a lotus. He exhibits the Varada pose in the right hand and holds the stem of a lotus against his breast in the left.

54. Mahāsahasrabhuja Lokeśvara. In all other respects he is identical to No. 53 with the difference that here the god weilds the sword in his right hand and dispalys the Varada Mudrā in the left.

55. Mahāratnakīrti Lokeśvara. He is three-faced and six-armed and stands on a lotus. He carries the fruit, the Utpala, and the conch in the three right hands, and shows the bow, the whip and the Namaskāra Mudrā in the three left.

56. Mahāsāṅkhanātha Lokeśvara. He is identical in all respects to No. 55 with the difference that the symbols carried by him are different. Here the god shows the Namaskāra Mudrā, and the two Vajras in the three right hands while the three left carry the noose, the arrow and the Ghaṇṭā.

57. Mahāsahasrasūryya Lokeśvara. He is eleven-faced and eight-armed and stands on a lotus. The two principal hands exhibit the Abhaya

poses against the breast. The remaining hands show the rosary, the Cakra and the Varada pose in the three right hands and the Utpala, the bow charged with an arrow, and the vessel in the three left. This form of Lokeśvara is very popular in Tibet.\*

58. Mahāratnakula Lokeśvara. He is three-faced and six-armed and stands on a lotus. The head on the top represents that of Amitabha. He carries the sword, the Utpala and the rosary in the three right hands and the book, the lotus and the Utpala in the three left.

59. Mahāpaṭala Lokeśvara. He is also three-faced and six-armed and stands on a lotus. He carries in his three right hands the Vajra, the Viśva-vajra and the Utpala and in the three left, the banner, the Ghaṇṭā and the Kamaṇḍalu.

60. Mahāmañjudatta Lokeśvara. In all other respect he is similar to No. 59. But he carries the Ghaṇṭā, the sword and the Ratnapallava in his three right hands and the Vajra, the Ghaṇṭā and the Utpala in the three left hands.

61. Mahācandrabimba Lokeśvara. He is three-faced and six-armed and stands on a lotus. He carries the arrow, the Utpala and the fruit in his three right hands and the bow, the Vajra and the Cakra in the three left. The head on the top probably represents Amitabha.†

62. Mahāsūryabimba Lokeśvara. He is identical in all respects to No. 61 except that here the god carries two Vajras, and the Cakra in the three right hands and two Utpalas and the bowl of gems in the three left.

63. Mahā-abhayaphalada Lokeśvara. He is also similar in form to No. 61. except that here the god carries the Vajra, the sword and the Utpala in the three right hands and two Ghaṇṭās, and the book in the three left.

64. Mahā-abhayakari Lokeśvara. He is also similar in form to No. 61, but the symbols held by the hands are different. Here the god carries the book against his breast in the two principal hands, and holds the Vajra and the the rosary in the right and the Ghaṇṭa and the Tridaṇḍī in the left.

\* Getty's Avalokiteśvara with 22,000 arms is only a development of this form of Lokeśvara, which appears in the middle of the image. See Getty: *Gods of the Northern Buddhism*.

† In the whole of the Sādhnamālā we do not find any deity with four faces and six arms. The arms are generally double the number of faces.

65. Mahāmañjūbhūta Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 61 with the difference that here the god carries the sword, the Vajra and the Kamaṇḍalu in the three right hands, and the rosary, the Utpala and the bell in the three left.

66. Mahāviśvaśuddha Lokeśvara. He is four-faced and eight-armed and stands on a lotus. He carries in his four right hands the sword, the flag, the Vajra and the goad, while the four left hold the Ghaṇṭā, the conch, the Utpala and the lotus.

67. Mahāvajradhātu Lokeśvara. He is identical with No. 66 in all respects but the symbols differ. Here the god carries the Vajra, the bow, the Trīśūla and the sword in the four right hands, and the Ghaṇṭā, the arrow, the Kamaṇḍalu and the noose in the four left.

68. Mahāvajradhṛk Lokeśvara. He is also identical in form to No. 66 with the difference that here the god carries the sword, the Vajra, the bow and the Aṅkuśa in the four right hands, and the Utpala, the Ghaṇṭā, the arrow and the noose in the four left.

69. Mahāvajrapāṇi Lokeśvara. He is also identical with No. 66 except that here the god carries the sword, the goad, the Gadā, and the rosary in the four right hands, and the Cakra, the noose, the Utpala and the book in the four left.

70. Mahāvajranātha Lokeśvara. He is three-faced and eight-armed and stands on a lotus. He carries the rosary and the noose and displays the Abhaya and Varada poses in his four right hands. The three left show the book, the Tridaṇḍī, and the lotus, while the empty fourth rests near the waist.

71. Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. He is four-faced and eight-armed and stands on a lotus. He carries in his four right hands the Vajra, the sword, the goad and the bow, while the three left carry the Ghaṇṭā, the Tridaṇḍī the noose and the arrow.

72. Devadevatā Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 71 with the difference that here the god carries the Vajra, the bow, the Trīśūla and the sword in the right, and the bell, the arrow, the jewel (?) and the noose in the left.

73. Piṇḍapātra Lokeśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed and stands on a lotus. He carries the Piṇḍapātra (the bowl containing oblations to be offered to the Departed Fathers) in his two hands near the waist.

74. Sārthavāha Lokeśvara. He is similar to No. 78 in all respects except that here the god displays the Varada Mudrā in his right hand and carries the Piṇḍapātra (bowl) in the left.

75. Ratnadala Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 78 in all other respects except that here he displays the Varada pose in the right hand while the empty left touches the shoulder.

76. Viṣṇupāṇi Lokeśvara. He is again similar in form to No. 78, except that here he carries the Trīśūla in the right hand and a lotus bud in the left.

77. Kamalacandra Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 78 except that here he displays the Vitarka Mudrā in both of his hands.

78. Vajrakhaṇḍa Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 78 in all other respects except that here the god carries the lotus bud in the right hand and the book against the breast in the left.

79. Acalaketu Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 78. But he displays the Abhaya Mudrā in the right hand and the Piṇḍapātra (bowl) in the left. A *chowrie* rests against his right shoulder.

80. Śiṛiṣarā (?) Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 78 in all respects except that here he carries the sword in the right hand and the noose in the left.

81. Dharmacakra Lokeśvara. He is again similar to No. 78 except that here he carries the Vajra in the right hand and the axe in the left.

82. Harivāhana Lokeśvara. He is identical to No. 78 with the difference that here the god carries the Kamaṇḍalu in the right hand and the *chowrie* in the left.

83. Sarasiri (?) Lokeśvara. He is again identical with No. 78. The difference is that here the god carries the Trīśūla in the right hand and the lotus in the left.

84. Harihara Lokeśvara. He is also identical with No. 78 in all other respects except that here he displays the Vyākhyāna Mudrā with his two hands against the breast.

85. Siṃhanāda Lokeśvara. He is again similar to No. 78. But here the god carries the *chowrie* resting against his shoulder in the right hand, while the empty left rests near the waist.

86. Viśvavajra Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 73 with the difference that here the god displays the Varada pose in the right hand and carries a snake in the left.

87. Amitābha Lokeśvara. He is again similar to No. 73 in all other respect except that here the god carries the *chowrie* in the right hand and the wheel in the left.

88. Vajrasattvadhātu Lokeśvara. He is similar to No. 73 except that here he carries the Cakra in the right hand and the conch in the left.

89. Viśvabhūta Lokeśvara. He is similar to No. 73 in form ; but here he carries the rosary in the right hand and the lotus in the left.

90. Dharmadhātu Lokeśvara. He is again identical with No. 73 in form except that here the god carries in his two hands the water-pot held near the waist.

91. Vajradhātu Lokeśvara. He is identical with No. 73 except that here the god displays the Varada Mudrā in the right hand and carries the lotus in the left.

92. Śākyabuddha Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 73 with the difference that he carries the Vajra in the right hand while the empty left is held near the waist.

93. Cittadhātu Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 73 with the difference that he carries the image of a Jina (probably Amitābha) in the right hand and displays the Abhaya pose in the left.

94. Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 73 except that here he carries the Caitya in the right hand while the empty left is held near the waist.

95. Śāntamati Lokeśvara. He is again similar to No. 73 with the difference that he exhibits the Varada pose in the right hand, and carries the bough of a tree in the left.

96. Mañjunātha Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 73 ; but here the god carries the rosary in the right hand and the book against the breast in the left.

97. Viṣṇucakra Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 73 except that here he carries the Cakra in the right hand and the Gadā in the left.

98. Kṛtāñjali Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 78 with the difference that here the god exhibits the Añjali, which is held against the breast, in his two hands.

99. Viṣṇukāntā Lokeśvara. He is again identical with No. 78 in all other respects except that here the god displays the Varada Mudrā in the right hand and the book against the breast in the left.

100. Vajrasṛṣṭa Lokeśvara. He is also identical with No. 78. The difference lies in the fact that here the god carries the *chowrie* in the right hand and the lotus in the left.

101. Sankhanātha Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 78 with the difference that here the god carries the conch against his breast in the right hand and the lotus in the left.

102. Vidyāpati Lokeśvara. He is also similar to No. 78 except that here the god shows the empty right hand against his breast while the left carries the lotus. The *chowrie* hangs from his right shoulder.

103. Nityanātha Lokeśvara. He is identical with No. 78 with the difference that here the god carries the rosary in the right hand over the book held in the left.

104. Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara. He is also similar in form to No. 78 with the difference that here the god displays the Varada pose in the right hand and carries the stem of a lotus in the left.

105. Vajrapāṇi Lokeśvara. He is again identical with No. 78 in all other respects except that here the god carries the Vajra on his head in the right hand, while the empty left is held near the waist. The attitude in which he stands is also different. He shows the dancing attitude in Ardhaparyāṅka.

106. Mahāsthāmaprāpta Lokeśvara. He is similar in all respects to Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara (No. 104).

107. Vajranātha Lokeśvara. He is also identical with No. 105, Vajrapāṇi Lokeśvara, with the only difference that here the god holds the lotus in the left hand. Like the previous one, he shows also the dancing attitude in Ardhaparyāṅka.

108. Śrīmadāryāvalokiteśvara. He is one-faced and two-armed and stands on a lotus. He holds the Vajra in his right hand, which rests against the breast, while the left carries the stem of a lotus held near the waist.

## GLOSSARY.

*Abhaya*—Mudrā, or the gesture of protection. Any hand showing this Mudrā should be slightly elevated and bent with the palm turned outward, the fingers being outstretched and elevated. This Mudrā should be distinguished from the Varada Mudrā in which case the hand is stretched downwards with the fingers, instead of being elevated, pointed downwards; and also, from the Capetādāna Mudrā, which shows the right hand menacingly extended upwards, just as we do in dealing a slap.

*Akṣamālā*—or *Mālā*, is the string of beads such as is carried by the Roman Catholic priests. The beads consist of a kind of dried fruit, called in Sanskrit, Rudrākṣa.

*Alīḍha*—a particular Āsana, or attitude of legs, in all respects similar to the attitude adopted in drawing the bow charged with an arrow. The right leg is outstretched while the left is slightly bent. This attitude should be distinguished from the *Pratyālīḍha* attitude, in which case the left leg is outstretched while the right is slightly bent and placed behind.

*Añjali*—name of a Mudrā also known as the *Sarvarājendra* Mudrā or the *Samputāñjali*. It is the Mudrā in which the two hands are clasped palm to palm, both of which are extended upward with all fingers erect or slightly bent. This is the characteristic Mudrā of Śaḍakṣari Lokeśvara and is also exhibited by Nāmasaṅgīti.

*Aṅkuśa*—elephant goad. See the weapon, for instance, in the image of Parnaśavarī. When the goad is surmounted by a Vajra, it is called *Vajrāṅkuśa*.

*Anuṣaṅjanas*—see *Lakṣaṇas*.

*Ardhaparyeṅka*—also called *Mahārājalīlā*, is a particular Āsana of sitting. Both the legs are on the same pedestal; one of the knee is raised while the other is bent in the usual position of a Buddha. This Āsana should be distinguished from the *Lalitāsana* in which case one of the legs is pendent, while the other is bent in the usual position of a Buddha. When both the legs are pendent, the attitude is called the *Bhadrāsana*.



**Āsana**—The word in Sanskrit may mean a seat, a mystic or any attitude exhibited in the lower limbs. The word *Padmāsana* means the seat of a lotus. Similarly *Siṃhāsana* means the lion-throne or the seat of a lion. The word *Sukhāsana* means any easy attitude of sitting. It may be the Paryāṅkāśana, the Lalitāsana or the Ardhaparyāṅkāśana. In fact, in the *Sādhana-mālā*, the word *Sukhāsana* has not been used in a technical sense. When used in a technical sense *Āsana* always signifies a particular mystic position of the lower limbs of the body. This *Āsana* may be of various kinds, such as, the Paryāṅkāśana, Vajraparyāṅkāśana, Lalitāsana, Ardhaparyāṅkāśana, Bhadrāsana, Āliḍhāsana, Pratyāliḍhāsana or the Nāṭyāsana, a variety of Ardhaparyāṅka.

**Āśoka**—the absence of sorrow ; but the word is always used to designate a particular kind of tree which blossoms forth red flowers. From time immemorial, this tree is regarded as sacred in India. It is believed that kicks at the tree by chaste women cause it to blossom.

**Bāṇa**—see *śara*.

**Bhūmiṣpaśa**—also called *Bhūmiṣpaśana* or the *Bhūspaśa* is the name of a Mudrā. The right hand exhibiting this Mudrā has the palm turned inward and the fingers outstretched with the tips touching the ground. This Mudrā should be distinguished from the *Varada* Mudrā in which case the tips do not touch the ground and the palm instead of being turned inward is turned outward. The deity showing the *Bhūspaśa* Mudrā must sit in the Vajraparyāṅka attitude.

**Bhūtas**—a class of mischievous spirits or hobgoblins who, without any provocation whatever, are supposed to injure men and destroy them mysteriously.

**Bija**—see *Vīja*.

**Brahmakapāla**—or the *Brahmaśīrah*, is the severed head of Brahmā who is credited with four faces with grey beards in all of them and the crown of grey chignon. The Buddhist gods, carrying triumphantly the severed head of Brahmā, display the aversion of the Buddhists towards the Hindus, as well as, the superiority of their gods to the gods of the alien faith.

**Brahmamukha**—the face of Brahmā containing four faces. The *Brahmamukha* is super-imposed on the head of *Paramāśva*.

**Brahmasīrah**—see **Brahmakapāla**.

**Caitya**—or the **Stūpa**, which represents the Buddhist Universe, is the Buddhist sanctuary, sometimes square and sometimes round, with spires or steps in the capital. Each spire or step represents a heaven, the uppermost portion being a point which is supposed to be the highest peak of Mount Sumeru, a mythical mountain, whence the Bodhi-citta loses itself in Śūnya. On the four sides of the Caitya the figures of the Dhyānī Buddhas appear. Vairocana is sometimes present or sometimes absent. The intermediate corners are sometimes occupied by the figures of the Divine Buddhaśaktis or their symbolic representations in the form of Yantras. The Caitya may show further, in the four cardinal points, the Caturmahārājikas or the Guardians of the quarters, namely, Vaiśravaṇa, Virūpākṣa, Virūḍhaka and Dhṛtarāṣṭra. See **Stūpa** and Plate II.

**Cakra**—wheel or disc. It is the characteristic symbol of the Hindu god Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa.

**Cāmara**—Chowrie or the fly-whisk consisting of the tail of a *Yak*.

**Cāpa**—also called *Dhanu*, is the bow. It is generally carried in the left hand. With the bow and the arrow Mārīcī inflicts pain to the Māras or wicked beings.

**Casaka**—the same as *Kapāla*. See *Kapāla*.

**Caturmudrā**—See *ṣaṇmudrā*.

**Cintāmaṇi**—the gem that satisfies all desires. The jewel is sometimes represented in the form of small round object and sometimes in the shape of a flame.

**ḍākinī**—same as *śakti*. See *śakti*.

**ḍamaru**—small drum, such as is carried by the Hindu god. Śiva. See *ḍamaru* in the image of Bighnāntaka.

**Daṇḍa**—the staff or the mace carried by Hayagrīva. It cannot be translated as the magic wand, as the Khaṭvāṅga serves that purpose. When the staff is surmounted by a Vajra, it is called a *Vajradaṇḍa*.

**Dhāraṇī**—meaningless conglomeration of syllables, occasionally containing one or two intelligible words, used as a charm or prayer. There are Dhāraṇī-Saṃgrahas or collections of Dhāraṇīs in the Nepal Library,

with an astonishingly large number of Dhāraṇīs devoted to the different deities. The list given in the *Nepal Catalogue*, Vol. II, App. p. 251 *et seq.* may be consulted.

**Dharmacakra**—or *Vyākhyāna Mudrā* is that gesture of hands exhibited by Lord Buddha while preaching his first sermon at Sarnath. This pose is depicted variously but the most artistic and correct representation of this Mudrā is to be found in the celebrated Prajñāpāramitā image from Java (Plate XXVIII,c) See Getty: *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 168.

**Dhanu**—same as *Cāpa*. See *Cāpa*.

**Dhūpa**—incense stick, which when burns, emits fragrance.

**Dhyāna**—meditation ; it refers generally to that portion of the Sādhana in which instruction is given as to the description of the deity with whom the worshipper is to identify himself.

**Dhyāna**—or *Samādhi Mudrā* ; the position of hands while in meditation. The hands with palm upwards lie one upon the other on the lap with all the fingers stretched. This is the characteristic Mudrā of Amitābha.

**Dhyānāsana**—or *Vajraparyāṅkāśana*, or *Vajrāsana*, is the meditative pose, the two legs being firmly locked with both the soles apparent—the characteristic sitting attitude of the Dhyāni Buddhas. Sometimes a small thunderbolt, shown on the seat of the god, indicate the meditative attitude. Dhyānāsana should be distinguished from the *Paryāṅka* attitude in which case the legs are placed one upon the other with both the soles invisible.

**Dīpa**—lamp ; the sacred lamp fed with *ghee*.

**Gadā**—mace.

**Garuḍa**—mythical bird supposed to be the destroyer of all serpents. The Hindus regard him as the Vāhana of Viṣṇu. Garuḍa is represented as a huge bird with a human body, two wings and sharp beaks, generally with hands clasped against the breast.

**Ghaṇṭā**—bell ; when the bell is surmounted by a Vajra, it is called *Vajraghaṇṭā*, which is a symbol of Vajrasattva.

**Jaṭāmukuta**—the crown of chignon. The hair is tied up above the head in such a way so as to resemble a crown or a tiara.

**Kalasa**—is the ordinary water-vessel of metal or earth. It is different from *Kamaṇḍalu* or *Kuṇḍikā*, which is smaller in size and in which there is a projecting pipe for discharging water.

**Kamaṇḍalu**—See *Kalasa*.

**Kapāla**—either (i) severed head of a man, or (ii) the cup made of a skull, or (iii) a bowl. The skull cup is of two kinds ; when it is filled with blood it is called *Aśṛkkapāla*, and when with human flesh it is called *Māmsa-kapāla*. The deities are supposed to partake of the blood or the flesh carried in these cups.

**Karaṇa**—Mudrā. Any hand showing this Mudrā is outstretched with the index and the little fingers erect, while the thumb presses the two remaining fingers against the palm of the hand.

**Karppara**—same as *Kapāla*. See *Kapāla*.

**Kartri**—or *Karttari* signifies a small knife ; sometimes the edge of it is uneven like the edge of a saw. It is called *Vajrakartri* when surmounted by a Vajra.

**Khaḍga**—sword. The sword in the hand of Mañjuśrī is called the *Prajñākhaḍga* or the Sword of Wisdom, which is believed to destroy the darkness of ignorance by the luminous rays issuing out from it.

**Khaṭvāṅga**—magic wand ; the stick is generally surmounted either by the Vajra, or the Kapāla, or the Trisūla, or the banner, or all of them. In any case, for a Khaṭvāṅga the skulls are necessary and it will be so called even if nothing else is present.

**Kṣepaṇa**—The Mudrā of sprinkling, exhibited by Nāmasaṅgīti. The two hands are joined palm to palm with fingers all stretched, the tips of which are turned downwards and enter into a vessel containing nectar.

**Kuṇḍikā**—same as *Kamaṇḍalu*. See *Kalasa*.

**Lakṣaṇas**—auspicious marks ; the thirty-two special marks of a Buddha, enumerated in *Dharmasaṃgraha* attributed to Nāgārjuna. The Lakṣaṇas are also enumerated in Getty : *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 170 *et seq.* Another class of minor marks are called *Anuvyañjanas*, eighty in number, also enumerated in the *Dharmasaṃgraha*.

**Mālā**—same as *Akṣamālā* ; see *Akṣamālā*.

**Maṇḍala**—the magic circle containing mystic figures and diagrams, and figures

of gods and goddesses constituting the Maṇḍala. In the Niṣpanna-yogāmbara Tantra, Kriyāsamuccaya and the Vajrāvalī-nāma-maṇḍalo-pāyikā there are descriptions of no less than a score of Maṇḍalas, each containing a number of deities.

**Maṇi**—same as Cintāmaṇi ; see *Cintāmaṇi*.

**Mantra**—mystic syllables, sometimes containing one or two intelligible words, but shorter than the *Dhāraṇīs*. The Mantras are believed to be a contracted form of the Dhāraṇīs and are meant for the mass to obtain an easy salvation, by simply muttering them. In many instances, the Mantra gives the name of the divinity or his attributes, and these are most important in determining the names of different gods when the Colophons of Sādhanaś are not reliable.

**Mayūra**—peacock ; and *Mayūrapiccha* is the tail or feathers of a peacock.

**Mudgara**—hammer ; it may also mean a staff or a mace.

**Mudrā**—mystic pose of hand or hands. Some of the Mudrās can be shown by one hand, such as the Varada, Abhaya, Namaskāra, etc. ; others require both the hands, such as the Añjali, Dharmacakra and many others. In the Sādhanamālā there are descriptions of an everwhelming number of Mudrās. But it is very difficult to comprehend them unless actually explained by the priests.

**Mūṣala**—pestle.

**Nāga**—serpent. They have the character of water-spirits and are believed to dwell in the springs, lakes and tanks and have the power to yield rain. But if they are roused to anger, they hurl down rocks from the mountain tops and destroy fair cities. The gods of the Sādhanamālā are fond of ornaments of eight lords of snakes. For their names and ornaments constituted by each of them, see *supra* p. 56.

**Nakulī**—mongoose ; the characteristic animal of Jambhala. The mongoose is believed to be the receptacle of all gems and when the god of Wealth presses the animal, it vomits forth all the riches.

**Namaskāra**—the Mudrā assumed by the Bodhisattvas when paying homage to the Buddhas or Tathāgatas, or by the minor deities to the principal one. The hand, slightly bent, is raised above in a line with the shoulder with fingers outstretched or slightly bent and palm turned upwards. The description given in *Gatty*, p. 172 is a description of the *Añjali Mudrā*.

**Nūpura**—anklet ; small bells are attached to the ornament so that when the leg moves, it chimes melodiously.

**Padma**—lotus, which may be any colour except blue. The blue lotus is designated by the word *Utpala* or *Nilotpala*. It is regarded as especially sacred by all classes of Indians. See Getty : *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 172. When the lotus shows petals in both the upper and lower directions it is called the *Viśvapadma* or the double lotus.

**Paraśu**—axe.

**Paryaṅka**—see *Dhyānāsana*.

**Pāśa**—noose or lasso ; when a Vajra is attached at the end of it, it is called the *Vajrapāśa* or the adamantine noose. The noose is required to bind the host of the Māras and all other wicked beings.

**Pātra**—begging bowl or bowl, generally found in the images of the five Dhyāni Buddhas and of Buddha Śākyasiṃha. Sometimes the *Kapāla* is used in the *Sādhana*mālā to designate a bowl. See *Kapāla*. Getty records a Buddhist legend as to how a Pātra came in the possession of Buddha. *Op. cit.* p. 173 *et seq.*

**Prañjū**—see *śakti*.

**Preta**—or *Mṛtaka*, or *śava* always mean a corpse in Indian Buddhist Iconography.

**Pustaka**—book in the form of a Sanskrit Manuscript which represents the Prajñāpāramitā or the Book of Transcendental Knowledge. Nāgārjuna is said to have restored the Scripture from the nether regions. The book is carried by several Buddhist gods, notably, Prajñāpāramitā, Mañjuśrī and Sarasvatī.

**Ratna**—jewel ; the word Triratna signifies the three Jewels, Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. Similarly there are different groups of jewels, such as the seven jewels or the sixteen jewels. For the enumeration of the seven jewels, see Getty : *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* p. 174. See also *Cintāmaṇi*.

**Sādhana**—the procedure of worship for the invocation of Buddhist gods, and not 'charm' as translated by C. Bendall. For the translation of a complete Sādhana see Appendix A. The *Sādhana*mālā or the *Sādhana*-samuccaya is a collection of more than three hundred Sādhanas.

*śakti*—or *Prajñā*, *Vidyā*, *Svābhā Prajñā* or *Svābhā Vidyā*, the female counterpart of a Bodhisattva. All goddesses are regarded as female counterparts of one or the other of the Bodhisattvas. The Śaktis are either represented singly or in *yab-yum*, i.e. in the actual embrace of the god to whom she is affiliated as a Śakti. This female counterpart may be “*Svābhā*” (own shadow) when she carries the same symbols and is in all respects similar, unless otherwise stated, to the god she embraces.

*Samādhi*—meditation ; “the deepest form of abstract meditation.” For a description of the *Samādhi Mudrā* see *Dhyāna Mudrā*.

*śaṅkha*—conch-shell ; it is especially given as a symbol to the gods as the sound vibrated through a shell penetrates far and wide. The conch-shell seems to have been extensively used in wars by ancient Indians.

*ṣaṇmudrā*—the six Mudrās, the meaning of this Mudrā being quite different from the Mudrā meaning mystic gestures. It has been translated as auspicious ornaments or symbols. The six ornaments are enumerated in the following verse in the *Sādhana-mālā*—

Kaṇṭhikā rucakaṃ ratnamekhalam bhasmasūtrakaṃ ।  
Ṣaṭ vai pāramitā eṭā mudrārūpena yojitāḥ ॥

“The torque, the bracelet, the jewel, the girdle, the ashes and the sacred thread are ascribed to the gods in the form of Mudrās (ornaments), which represent the six Pāramitās.”

These ornaments or symbols are generally of human bones, the *Khaṭvāṅga* being the sacred thread. When one of the six is absent, they are called *Pañcamudrā*, and *Caturmudrā*, when two.

*śara*—or *Bāṇa* is the arrow. It is generally carried in the right hand, while the corresponding left shows the *Dhanu*.

*śava*—see *Preta*.

*Siddhas*—or *Siddhapuruṣas* are saints who have already attained Siddhi or perfection in a Tāntric rite and have acquired superhuman powers. Two groups of Siddhas are generally recognized, one consisting of eight and another of eighty-four. They were famous in the mediaeval ages for their magical powers and prodigious deeds. Most of them were Bengalees.

*Siṃha*—lion. The word *Siṃhāsana* means the lion-seat or the lion-throne, but does not designate a special attitude of sitting such as the *Vajrāsana*, *Ardhaparyāṅkāsa*, and so forth. See *āsana*.

*śṛṅkhala*—chain, also called the *Vajraśṛṅkhala*, or the adamantine chain, which is the characteristic symbol of *Vajraśṛṅkhala*.

*Stūpa*—see *Caitya*, and pictures of three celebrated Stūpas of Nepal in Plate II.

*Sūci*—*Mudrā* used generally in the act of dancing, though it is to be seen in other cases also. All the fingers are stretched with the tips joining at the end, so as to resemble a needle (*sūci*).

*śūnya*—translated as 'Void' in the absence of a suitable and more expressive word. It signifies a stage of the mind after *Nirvāṇa*, about which neither existence, nor non-existence, nor a combination of the two, nor a negation of the two can be predicated. This *Śūnya* in *Vajrayāna* is identified with Compassion which transforms itself in the form of divinities, of the nature of *Śūnya*, for the welfare and happiness of men (*śūnyatā-karuṇābhinnā*).

*Sūryya*—the sun or the disc of the sun, which is held in one of her hands by *Mārici* and which is the seat of many Buddhist gods and goddesses. *Rāhu* is said to devour the sun and the moon.

*Svābhā Prajñā*—see *śakti*.

*Tarjanī*—*Mudrā*; the pose of the raised index finger in a menacing attitude. In the hand, showing this *Mudrā*, the index finger only is raised while the other fingers are locked up in the fist. If a *pāśa* or noose appears round the index finger it is called *Tarjanīpāśa*. The word *Vajratarjanī* signifies the *Vajra* held in the fist while the index is raised in a menacing attitude.

*Tarjanīpāśa*—see *Tarjanī*.

*Tarpaṇa*—*Mudrā* of doing homage to the Departed Fathers; the *Mudrā* of *Nāmasaṅgīti*. Any arm showing this gesture is bent and is raised upward in a line with the shoulder. The palm of the hand is turned inward with fingers slightly bent and pointed towards the shoulder.

*Tathāgatas*—the Buddhas who have attained the highest stage of perfection according to the Buddhists. In the *Sādhana-mālā*, the word is invariably used in the plural number always with reference to the



five Dhyāni Buddhas, but does not even signify Vajrasattva or Vajradhara. The Buddhas are innumerable and have a hierarchy among them ; the different orders are, *Pratyeka*, *śrāvaka*, *Samyak-Sambuddha*, *Jina*, *Arhat*, *Tathāgata*, and the like.

*Trailokya*—pertaining to the three worlds, the terrestrial, the celestial and the infernal.

*Trisūla*—trident. The Hindu god Śiva is believed to carry the trident and hence it is popular among the Tantra symbols as most of the Tantras are in the form of a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī.

*Utpala*—see *Padma*.

*Vāhana*—vehicle or the mount of gods ; the mount may be any animal including men, demons and corpses. Sometimes even the gods of an alien faith serve as Vāhanas.

*Vajra*—thunderbolt. When two thunderbolts are crossed, it is called a *Viśva-Vajra*, or a double Vajra. In Buddhist Tantra the word generally designates Śūnya or Void, which cannot be cut, cannot be destroyed, but which destroys all evils.

*Vajradaṇḍa*—see *Daṇḍa*.

*Vajraghaṇṭā*—see *Ghaṇṭā*

*Vajrahūṅkāra*—Mudrā. The wrists are crossed at the breast with two hands holding the Vajra and the bell, both of which are turned inwards. But if the two symbols and the hands are turned outward the Mudrā will be called the *Trailokyavijaya Mudrā*.

*Vajrakartri*—see *Kartri*.

*Vjraṅkuśa*—see *Aṅkuśa*.

*Vajraparyāṅka*—see *Dhyānāsana*.

*Vajrapāśā*—see *Pāśa*.

*Vajrāsana*—see *Dhyānāsana*.

*Vajraśṛṅkhala*—see *śṛṅkhala*.

*Vajratarjanī*—see *Tarjanī*.

*Varada*—Mudrā ; the gesture of hand shown by gods while bestowing boons. The hand showing this gesture is pendent with its palm outward and

fingers all stretched. Sometimes a jewel is seen stamped on the hand showing the Mudrā ; it is known as the *Ratnasamṣyukta Varada*, that is, the gift-bestowing attitude together with a jewel. The Mahoba figure of Khadiravanī is an example of this kind.

*Vīja*—also *Bīja*. In Tantra the word means the germ-syllable, the radiance of which illumines all the innumerable worlds and the darkest regions, and attract the deity which is the transformation of Śūnya. See *Conclusion*.

*Vijapūraka*—citron ; the characteristic symbol of Jambhala.

*Viśvapadma*—the double conventional lotus. See *Padma*.

*Viśvavajra*—the double conventional Vajra. See *Vajra*.

*Vitarka*—Mudrā assumed in discussion. This Mudrā is altogether unknown in the Sāḍhanamālā and seems to be a later development. It is, nevertheless, shown by a number of forms of Avalokiteśvara treated of in Appendix B, all of which are more or less influenced by Tibetan art and Iconography. This Mudrā is represented with the right arm bent and all fingers erect except either the index or the ring finger which touches the thumb so as to resemble a ring. The hand is extended forward with the palm outward.

*Vyākhyāna Mudrā* ;—see *Dharmacakra*.

*Yab-yum*—It is a Tibetan word consisting of two particles, *yab* and *yum*. The word 'Yab' in Tibetan means the honourable father and 'yum' means the honourable mother. The combined word therefore means the father in the company of the mother, or in her embrace. For the spiritual significance of the conception of yab-yum, see *Conclusion*.

*Yakṣas*—The Yakṣas are misshapen dwarfs who guard the treasures of the northern mountains and their Chief is Kuvra, the god of Wealth. They are usually malignant in disposition and they occasionally feed on human flesh. But the benign influence of Buddha's teaching makes them forego their cruel habits.



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